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CSFR's Calfa Addresses Hexagonale Meeting

AU3007170091 Prague CTK in English 1354 GMT 27 Jul 91

[Text] Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia, July 27 (CTK)—Premier Marian Calfa said here today Czechoslovakia would welcome if at least part of the planned Western assistance for the USSR were connected with support for Czechoslovak exports to the Soviet market.

Addressing a session of the premiers of the Hexagonale, into which the former Pentagonale was expanded today by admission of Poland, Calfa said the group should pay attention to the modernization of its member countries' economies.

Calfa said the political and economic reforms which are now being implemented in the countries of Eastern and Central Europe are accompanied by difficulties of a political, economic, and nationality character and often develop into dangerous conflicts.

These conflicts, Calfa went on to say, have a common denominator and can threaten both the democratic development in Eastern and Central Europe, and the appearance of future Europe.

Calfa urged cooperation in tackling conflicts, and voiced the conviction that also Yugoslavia will succeed in finding a democratic solution to its complex internal political problems in accord with international law.

Welcoming the accord reached by representatives of the European Community and Yugoslavia on Brioni at the beginning of July, Calfa said Czechoslovakia is ready to take on an observer mission set up under the agreement.

The Hexagonale consists of Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Italy, Poland, and Yugoslavia.

The two-day Dubrovnik deliberations started yesterday at the level of foreign ministers.

Hungary's Antall on Dubrovnik Hexagonale Meeting

AU3107132691 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 29 Jul 91 p 7

[Interview with Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall by MTV correspondent Tibor Franka in Budapest on 28 July: "If We Show Interest And Want to Help, That Is Not Interference"—first paragraph is UJ MAGYARORSZAG introduction]

[Text] Jozsef Antall granted an interview to Tibor Franka, correspondent for the MTV [Hungarian Television] program "A Het" ["The Week"], upon his return from the second summit of cooperating Alpine-Adriatic states.

[Franka] Prime Minister Antall! You have been criticized for your statements on the situation in Yugoslavia. At the same time, we have now heard that the Yugoslav prime minister and yourself share the same point of view. So, either they did not understand what you said, or they did not want to understand. Now, you are on a common platform with the Yugoslav prime minister. What reactions have there been to this? What have you concluded from all this? Are there people who misinterpret things? Or do they want to misinterpret things?

[Antall] There are and there always will be people who misinterpret things. It is in nobody's interest to quote exactly what I say; it is much more pleasant and interesting to misinterpret what I say, or to add something to it, or simply to make up what I would have said. I was stating some historical facts. I do not want to reiterate these facts because I do not want to spark off a new debate. I was talking about the historical fact that the peace treaties signed after the two world wars drew a border between Hungary and the Kingdom of Serbia-Croatia-Slovenia, or rather, Hungary and the Federated Republic of Yugoslavia. That is all I said, and that is all I am saying now.

Secondly, the common stance of our two governments (or of the other governments) has enabled us to go as far as to sign (or rather, approve) three documents, one of them being a political and economic statement by the six Hexagonale states [Hungary, Austria, Italy, the CSFR, Yugoslavia, and Poland] on Yugoslavia. Right from the beginning, Hungary announced that there could be no selection in the right of nations to self-determination. It is not a case of some nations having the right to self-determination and others not. That is one point.

Another point is that we also announced that we believe in a peaceful solution. We believe in the need to look for a democratic and constitutional solution. I think (and this is something that we have stressed on every possible occasion) that the 90-day moratorium gives people a chance to lay down arms and find a negotiated solution.

Nevertheless, we think that it is extremely important for Croatia and Slovenia to receive guarantees that they will not suffer armed attacks. The supervision of Armed Forces, or the failure to supervise armed groups, is a key issue in the solution to the Yugoslav problem. There are armed groups launching armed attacks on village borders at the moment, killing people, forcing them to flee—what basis do they have for their actions? Who are they serving? What connections do their activities have? These questions have to be clarified.

[Franka] Prime Minister! In Dubrovnik, you met with [CSFR Prime Minister] Calfa. I presume you broached the subject of the Bos-Nagymaros water dam?

[Antall] As far as the Bos power station is concerned, we agreed that negotiations so far had not led to any results. It is very difficult to expect quick results because the Hungarian Government's room for maneuver is extremely limited. Parliament's decision forces our government to discuss the termination of this contract, but we cannot discuss the implementation of the contract or any kind of a compromise solution. That does not mean

that I disagree with the National Assembly's decision. Naturally, I agree with the National Assembly's decision, but if we want to discuss this issue and make progress, we have to look for other possible solutions. I think that it would be important for legislative representatives and members of legislative committees to meet with one another and perhaps find other arguments that might convince both sides to opt for a better solution. It would be important not only to have intergovernmental talks, but also to organize talks between members of legislative committees, so that they may learn about each others' viewpoints.

The Slovak Government and the CSFR Federal Government are both in favor of filling up the Bos reservoir, and they are still sticking to this goal. Consequently, this is a difficult situation. Naturally, we pointed out that, as far as we can tell, a unilateral step like that would constitute a clear border violation according to international law. Hungary cannot accept this decision under any circumstances. So we have to conduct further negotiations on this issue, and these negotiations can only be concluded with an agreement.

[Franka] The representation of Hungarian national minorities abroad has been provoking some antipathy, particularly in recent times. You made a statement on the 27 July MTV news, informing all those concerned that Hungary does not want to interfere, but that it is guided by solidarity and the will to help. Do you think that your statement reached the ears of the people concerned?

[Antall] As far as the issue of Hungarian national minorities is concerned, my opinion is still that it is always our duty to speak up! Naturally, I told the Yugoslav prime minister that we place the Hungarian national minority in Yugoslavia under the protection of both the Federal Yugoslav Government and the governments of the Federated Republics, and we expect these governments to defend the national minority with all their strength and attention. They should not end up in a situation where they are interfering (against their will) in the fighting between Southern Slavs. Both the Serbs and the Croats have armed forces, and if the Hungarian national minority were armed as well, it would make it worse for them. So we can do nothing but call attention to existing facts by diplomatic or other means, in Yugoslavia as in other countries. That is one part of the issue.

However, in general—and this is something I told the prime minister in my official speech—we do not interfere in the domestic issues of other countries. If we show an interest in the problems of a neighboring country, or if we try to help, then that is not interference.

We have no reason to give explanations because we have not said or done anything that could possibly make people question our good intentions. We base our actions on the Helsinki Final Act and on the Paris Charter, and as far as I could tell, the Yugoslav delegation did not show any resentment in this respect.

In my speech, I pointed out that from far away, even Europe seemed small, let alone Central Europe. From the point of view of foreign interest and foreign investments, it is always catastrophic for a country if the situation in the surrounding area is destabilized. So if there is a civil war in Yugoslavia, then it cannot be a domestic issue because it affects all of us. Yugoslavia really is struggling with such problems, and these problems can lead to an economic catastrophe in the country itself—we need only think of tourism, empty streets, and empty hotels; in themselves, these are depressing factors. So, given that we are members of the Hexagonale (and members of other organizations), this should not be seen as interference, and we should not be suspicious of one another. As long as I am prime minister, I am not going to take offense if somebody with good intentions gives advice about Hungary, or if somebody asks me a well-meant question; as I have said, I would only be grateful to that person.

[Franka] If we mention Hungarian interests and the interests of Hungarians living beyond our borders, and if we speak up for these interests, then we are usually accused of nationalism, chauvinism, and irredentism—in other words, we are called every name in the book. So the intention that you speak of, Prime Minister, has already been twisted several times inside our own borders.

[Antall] I think that it is already a big achievement that the five-member Pentagonale managed to work together and submit a joint proposal on national minority affairs at the CSCE conference in Geneva. It is a big achievement for our countries to have been able to present a common viewpoint on such a critical issue. If we continue like this, I think we might be successful in this area. It is our natural duty to conduct a correct policy that takes all these viewpoints into account, a policy whereby we always stand up for Hungarians living beyond our borders, and at the same time, a policy whereby we treat national minorities in Hungary in a liberal, correct, constitutional, and legal way. The right policy would be for national and ethnic minorities to receive greater support than ever before. Most of all, I do not see any alternative to that kind of a policy. I do not think that we could come up with a better idea.

[Franka] Thank you for this conversation.

Hungary's Jeszenszky on Hexagonale Summit

AU3107182491 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 29 Jul 91 p 3

["F.O."-signed interview with Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky; place and date not given: "Jeszenszky: Let There Be No New Iron Curtain"—first paragraph is NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Text] In his interview with NEPSZABADSAG, Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky stressed the importance of the fact that the Hexagonale summit could actually be held in Dubrovnik.

[Jeszenszky] It is even more important to note that we obtained tangible results. Poland's accession does not simply mean the addition of another country. It means that the region between the Germans and the Russians—a region that used to be a historically tense area; this is the area where world wars broke out and where Communism collapsed—is progressing toward cooperation and unification. We are not distancing ourselves from West European integration. On the contrary, we are on the road leading to this integration. Apart from the significance of the fact that our six countries are maintaining institutionalized political links with one another, we are also expecting some concrete results. Roads and highways are under construction, and new border crossings are under preparation.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Will there be enough money for all this?

[Jeszenszky] The uncertainty in Yugoslavia might make investors hold back. However, that does not diminish the importance of the Trieste-Baltics road, and at worst, this road could be built through Austria. Nevertheless, as far as our fundamental interest is concerned, it would be best if calm is restored as soon as possible in our surrounding area and if all the things that are happening over there leave Hungary unscathed. If the situation deteriorates (God forbid!), and if a new Iron Curtain is lowered against our will, Hungary will have to remain an island of peace and welfare.

[NEPSZABADSAG] What impressions did you get from your federal and republican Yugoslav partners in Dubrovnik?

[Jeszenszky] Despite our busy schedule, we had time to conduct bilateral talks early in the morning, during meals, and late at night. From my talks with my Slovene colleague, I discovered that our viewpoints did not differ very much at all. I told him about my experiences in Washington and Western Europe, informing him of the way that people in these areas see the Yugoslav crisis.

[NEPSZABADSAG] In Dubrovnik, it seemed that, together with Western Europe, the Hexagonale now places its bets on the organizations of the Yugoslav Federation. What do Zagreb and Ljubljana have to say about this, as they strive for their independence?

[Jeszenszky] It would be in our interest if the Southern Slav states joined together on a new basis, with economic independence, but with the same customs union. It would be in our interest if they stayed together like that. It would not be good if Hungarians in Vojvodina ended up in a worse state formation than at present. We have said this to the federal government, to the Croats, and to the Slovenes, and I also told the Serbian foreign minister, whom I met in Dubrovnik.

[NEPSZABADSAG] What did the two of you talk about?

[Jeszenszky] We were pressed for time. I invited my Serbian colleague to Budapest. It is much better if dialogue is conducted directly rather than through messages. I think that Hungary's and Serbia's viewpoints are much closer than many people in Belgrade think.

Bielecki on Poland's Contribution to Hexagonale

AU3107184291 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 29 Jul 91 pp 1, 2

[P.L. report: "Poland A Full Member of the Hexagonale"]

[Text] At a news conference at Warsaw's Okecie Airport immediately after his return from Dubrovnik, Prime Minister Bielecki stressed two major new features that Poland will contribute to the Hexagonale: a "spirit of solidarity" and "a possibility of better communications between the north and the south."

"That is why it is so important to make proper use of our geographical situation," he said. "It is very important to use the Hexagonale to solve specific problems."

Regardless of economic issues, the statements made by the prime minister and by Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski, who accompanied him to Dubrovnik, permit the conclusion that Poland's political significance has increased. Krzysztof Skubiszewski said that the Hexagonale leaders considered Poland to be "stabilized."

"Italy is a stabilizing factor in the south, and in Dubrovnik that was viewed positively within the context of European politics," said K. Skubiszewski.

Prime Minister Bielecki said that Poland's proposal to take part in a possible CSCE peace mission was welcomed by Prime Minister Ante Markovic.

Poland's Skubiszewski on Hexagonale Membership

AU3007183691 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 27-28 Jul 91 p 1

[Interview with Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski, by Ryszard Bilski, in Dubrovnik on 26 July: "The Pentagonale Sextet"]

[Text] [Bilski] What do you think will be the significance of the Hexagonale group in building a system of European security?

[Skubiszewski] Enormous, because this group now includes countries situated between the Baltic and Adriatic. This north-south axis is very necessary in Europe because it releases the pressure, especially political pressure, that has always existed in East-West cooperation. There should be specific plans concerning links between

our Baltic part of the continent and the continent's southern part, especially the Adriatic. I have in mind transport and communications in particular.

[Bilski] You witnessed Prime Minister Bielecki's conversation with Prime Minister Markovic. What was it about?

[Skubiszewski] It dealt with economic cooperation between the two countries. Of course, the prime ministers also discussed the Yugoslav crisis. Poland's stance is known because the Foreign Ministry has already issued two statements in which we adopted a balanced posture that suits the interests of Polish-Yugoslav relations and general European interests. In these statements we emphasized the need to fully observe human rights in every country and respect all aspirations, provided that they conform to the interests of others. That is a very difficult problem, and not just in Yugoslavia. It involves changes, coupled with stabilization and the preservation of a certain balance.

Foreign Ministry Statement on START, Mideast

AU0108195691 Tirana ATA in English 1729 GMT 1 Aug 91

[Text] Tirana, August 1 (ATA)—Regarding the agreement on reducing the strategic nuclear arsenals (START) between the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union, the spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Albania made on August 1, 1991 the following statement:

"Our country hails the signing of the treaty for the reduction of the strategic nuclear arsenals (START) between the American President George Bush and the Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, sure that this will serve the long expected process of disarmament and peace .

Marking another step towards the elimination of the [word indistinct] of cold war and confrontation, the treaty will strengthen the current positive tendency in the international relations for the reduction of the armaments race and understanding among the peoples and states. The positive changes occurring on the international arena, the democratization of these relations and the achievement of a stable security for all require the undertaking and continuation of such steps."

Regarding the proposal to hold a conference on Middle East, the spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Albania declared: "Albania hails any initiative, in international or regional context for the peaceful solution to the whole crisis in the Middle East, which would be acceptable for the peoples and countries of the region and which would stem from the dialogue and participation of all the interested parties. This is for the benefit of the peoples of the region themselves, as well as of the international peace and security. In this context we assess the fresh efforts and initiatives launched by the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union for a peaceful and correct solution to the prolonged conflict of the Middle East."

Pashko, Dumani, Cabiri Receive Greek Delegation

AU0108165691 Tirana ATA in English 0951 GMT 1 Aug 91

[Text] Tirana, August 1 (ATA)—On July 31 before noon, the vice chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of the economy Gramoz Pashko received at the seat of Prime Minister's Office the Greek delegation led by the general secretary for international economic relations of Greece, Yeoryios Vlahos [name as received]. In the talks they spoke of the possibilities to forge ahead the bilateral relations in the field of economic cooperation and in fields of mutual interests. Gramoz Pashko expressed the desire to further promote this cooperation creating new fields of cooperation such as transports, agriculture, investments.

On the same day before noon, the minister of agriculture Nexhmedin Dumani conducted talks in the seat of the Ministry of Agriculture with the Greek delegation led by Yeoryios Vlahos. Present in this meeting from the Greek party was also the general secretary of the Ministry of Agriculture of Greece, Nikolos Psilakis [name as received]. First Nexhmedin Dumani briefed the Greek guests with the changes in the legislation on the land, concretely dwelling on the Law on the Land. He pointed out further on the facilitating measures the Government of National Stability has adopted with regard to cooperativist peasantry.

The Greek delegation was received on July 31 in a special meeting also with the minister of foreign economic relations, Ylli Cabiri. He pointed out that there are possibilities that through the agreements expected to be signed, Greek investments will further increase in various sectors of the Albanian economy. He said among others that all facilities will be created for the Greek businessmen who are working or will engage themselves in the joint Albanian-Greek enterprises in the future, to come and go from Albania.

On July 31 afternoon, the vice minister of foreign affairs Mehill Marku received the Greek delegation. He stressed that our joint interest has to do not only with the bilateral economic cooperation but also with maintaining contacts in political fields. This derives from good neighborliness and the perspective of further promotion of cooperation between Albania and Greece.

Albanian-Greek Cooperation Protocols Signed

AU0108192891 Tirana ATA in English 1814 GMT 1 Aug 91

[Text] Tirana, August 1 (ATA)—The third session of the Albanian-Greek Joint Commission on Economic, Industrial, Technical and Scientific Cooperation wound up its proceedings in Tirana on August 1.

In the end of these proceedings both parties signed the agreement between the government of the Republic of Albania and the government of the Republic of Greece, to mutually stimulate and defend the investments, as well as the protocol of the third session of the Albanian-Greek Joint Commission on Economic, Industrial, Technical and Scientific Cooperation between the government of the Republic of Albania and the government of the Republic of Greece.

People's Assembly Passes Banking, Insurance Laws

AU0108162291 Tirana ATA in English 0959 GMT 1 Aug 91

[Text] Tirana, August 1 (ATA)—On July 31 afternoon, the People's Assembly continued its proceedings with the examining of the draft-law on the Savings Bank. The activity of this bank, which is created on the basis of the division of the activity of the Savings Banks' Institute and Insurances, will cover savings deposits of the population, pensions, etc., as well as granting short and long term credits for the citizens who have deposits in this

bank and for other economic subjects. The short and long term credits will be granted to the nationals to purchase dwelling flats, to repair the existing houses, to purchase house appliances of investment character, etc. The draft law reflects the functionings and main tasks of the Savings' Banks, its rights and duties, etc.

The deputies endorsed this draft law.

In this sitting the deputies also examined the draft law "On the Institute of Insurances." Likewise they endorsed in general this draft law.

The assembly also endorsed the law for the adherence of the Republic of Albania to the Convention on Consular Relations. The Vienna Convention for Consular Relations, signed on April 24 1963, arranges many affairs having to do with the way of establishing consular relations amongst states.

The assembly continues its proceedings today.

Investigation of State Bank Reveals Deficit

AU0108154891 Tirana ATA in English 1203 GMT 1 Aug 91

[Text] Tirana, August 1 (ATA)—In its meeting dated 29.7.1991 the Council of Ministers was informed by the general director of the Albanian State Bank and the minister of finances on the results of the control with regard to the use of the state currency reserves and the state of the balance of payments of the last 3-4 years. Experts of the International Monetary Fund assisted in the final realisation of this control.

From the preliminary assessments it results in a deficit of 170 million dollars which constitutes real losses caused by the activity of currency exchange exercised since 1988 by the Currency Exchange Department at the General Department of the Albanian State Bank.

Till now the control team has not found concrete proofs testifying to deception or abuses perpetrated for personal profit.

The Council of Ministers adopted a decision to adopt some important measures for the immediate improvement of the state in the Albanian State Bank, for closing down the currency exchange activity and for passing the control documents to the Investigation Office.

Finance Minister Ruli on Cadres, Ministry Renewal

AU3007100591 Tirana ALTERNATIVA SD in Albanian 19 Jul 91 p 3

[Cerciz Loloci interview with Finance Minister Genc Ruli; place and date not given: "Democracy Feels Secure With Able and Enthusiastic Cadres"]

[Text] [Loloci] Let us start the interview with a personal question. What does Genc Ruli mean to Genc Ruli?

[Ruli] I am from Libohove near Gjirokaster, although I was born and raised in Tirana. I graduated from the Finance Department of the Economics Faculty and the Justice Department of the Law Faculty. After graduation and until 1990, I worked as a teacher in the Economics Faculty, where I defended my dissertation for the degree of candidate of sciences. I then worked in the Ministry of Foreign Trade and the Foreign Trade Bank, and am now minister in the National Stability Government. I was a founding member of the Democratic Party's Initiating Committee, and was elected deputy for Constituency No. 217 in Tirana on 31 March. I am 33 years old, young like other ministers. Even Deputy Prime Minister Gramoz Pashko is only 36.

[Loloci] Are there opportunities for young, able, and enthusiastic cadres to take part in the country's government?

[Ruli] These opportunities have now been created, and there is an evident need for such cadres. Democracy feels more secure with able and enthusiastic people. Hitherto, the bureaucratic mentality has obstructed us. The solution of a range of difficult problems and difficulties makes it necessary to attract capable people. However, a degree of hesitation is noticeable among some cadres in assuming posts with heavy responsibility. It would be better for the nation if such cadres were to accept such posts, even as a form of sacrifice.

[Loloci] In many Western countries, cabinets are mostly composed of talented and energetic economists, which is not the case with our National Stability Government.

[Ruli] The composition of the National Stability Government is a big step forward, with six important posts allotted to economists. It seems we are finally bidding farewell to the past, and we hope that in the future the best possible balance will be achieved. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that the evident shortage of able economic and financial specialists is a great worry today. This is one of the great failings we have inherited from the past.

[Loloci] To pursue this idea further—the proportion of active members, even in the legislature, is very small. The overwhelming majority of Albanian legislators are very "wet behind the ears," in other words, unfortunately for the people, some of them are not up to the cultural and professional level of the constituencies they represent.

[Ruli] Your remark is on the whole a fair one. I would say that there is a discrepancy between the present legislature and the needs of our political and economic life today. It cannot be denied that there is a visible difference between this legislature and the one we had for 45 years on end. The shortcomings evident in its composition, in the youth of deputies, and especially in the professional level of a considerable number of deputies, are a direct reflection of the abnormal and tense situation in which the first pluralist elections were held. I am convinced that the new and imminent elections,

which will be held in a much more democratic and pluralist spirit and on the basis of the best possible electoral law, will bring a qualitative change to the composition of the future legislature. The improvement will be evident in a more sensible number of persons elected and especially in the more politically and professionally mature personalities of the future deputies.

[Loloci] How do you expect to solve the problem of the thorough renewal of the administrative apparatus in the Finance Ministry?

[Ruli] The first step in the thorough renewal of the apparatus will be an improvement in the organizational structure of the ministry, which is dictated by the new conditions of the market economy. The second step will be the renewal of personnel, especially management staff, bringing into the apparatus financial specialists with the highest possible professional and cultural training, the most energetic and active people. The relatively young age of the specialists we are looking for will be a guarantee of a radical break with the moldy bureaucratic mentality from which our apparatus suffered and which cost society dearly. Urgent tasks cannot be confronted without a dynamic and effective apparatus. In the administration of a democratic state, this high-quality and concentrated apparatus will be relatively stable, and only the minister himself will be instantly replaceable.

[Loloci] Will the renewal of your ministry extend to other ministries, in order to radically reform the bureaucratic state system?

[Ruli] Radical renewal is no doubt required in all our state's ministries. Otherwise this renewal would be partial and fruitless. As far as I am aware, such efforts for renewal have begun in the government apparatus, the Ministry of the Economy, the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, and the Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Youth. Renewal is an imperative demand that must be carried out fast and without hesitation in every ministry.

[Loloci] We have the impression that the Ministry of Defense and the Ministry of Public Order are the most bloated with staff. Thinking of them, what will be the average staff level of a ministry?

[Ruli] It is true that these two ministries are the most swollen with apparatchiks. It is a vital necessity for the administration to get rid of bureaucratic dead wood, not only because of our state's limited possibilities of supporting such a large apparatus. I think that the cuts here should go as deep as possible.

One cannot lay down precisely the average number of personnel for a ministry. Tomorrow's thinking may reverse the relative size of ministries: Many ministries hitherto considered of special importance and with gigantic apparatuses will have smaller and more efficient staffs tomorrow, while the reshaping of some so-called secondary ministries may lead to a relative growth. As a whole, the state apparatus will tend to have a significantly smaller number of staff.

[Loloci] What will be done with the title of "cadre chief," a figure who is often considered "a fanatical keeper of people's files?"

[Ruli] The post of cadre chief, with the role and authority granted to it by the monist state, will no longer exist in the new apparatus. There will be a personnel officer, who will deal with problems regarding employees' technical and academic qualifications, will supervise the quality of their work, and will deal with social problems.

[Loloci] Former party and state leaders are being exposed in all the press as unscrupulous manipulators, yet none of them has yet been brought before the bodies of justice.

[Ruli] Our opinion has already been stated. The Council of Ministers recently issued a decree expressing its full commitment to determinedly condemning the many abuses, organized malpractices, and undeserved privileges of former leaders of the Albanian Workers Party. On the basis of this decision, the conclusions of the control group of the Finance Ministry and the State Control Commission have been submitted to the investigator general, in order to determine the criminal and civil responsibility of these corrupt persons. The National Stability Government, loyal to the spirit of democracy and the rule of law, is extremely determined to identify, uncover, and punish these large-scale misappropriations.

[Loloci] A short while ago, Italian Television listed "the Hoxha brothers" among the world's 300 leading capitalists, and as possessing several billion dollars. Can this assertion be true?

[Ruli] I don't know what to say....

[Loloci] I see the president's picture in your office. There has been a flurry of articles about him in the press recently. How can this happen after he was so "easily" elected by the pluralist parliament?

[Ruli] My attitude to the person of the president is the same as that of the Democratic Party's legislative group. As for his portrait in the office, this is state practice, as in all countries of the world, and no personal taste or preference can be read into it.

Investigations of More Skhoder Officials To Start

AU0108192791 Tirana ATA in English 1810 GMT 1 Aug 91

[Text] Tirana, August 1 (ATA)—In the trial of August 1 about April 2 events in Shkoder, it was reported that it was decided that the question be further investigated in order to find out exactly the penal responsibility of the accused defendants, as well as of the other persons related to the events in Shkoder. The decision says that until now they considered the question of killing the

victims as an abuse of the duty, whereas the investigation should be carried out in complexity.

In the capacity of the witnesses will be taken the former head and deputy head of the General Office of Investigation, Qemal Lame, and Seit Sula. The investigation will be expanded to make precise the information given by the former minister of the interior, Gramoz Ruci, at the Presidential Council on April 2, 1991. Investigations will be carried out regarding the penal responsibility of the former first secretary of the District Party Committee of Labour, Xhemal Dymylja, who was at the same time the district's chief of the Defence Staff. The questions to the new witnesses will be the object of the investigations so as to throw light through fuller investigations on the authors of the killing and bring about the uth of the April 2 events in Shkoder.

Call For Enhanced Status of Yugoslav Albanians

LD3107141691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1143 GMT 31 Jul 91

[Text] Ohrid, July 31 (TANJUG)—The Republican Party of Albania is distributing a petition in and outside Albania, demanding that the autonomous province of Kosovo and Metohija (within the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia) be granted the status of republic as "the other peoples in Yugoslavia have."

Ethnic Albanians, constituting the majority of Kosovo and Metohija's population, have the status of national minority.

The Albanian Republican Party calls on the Albanian people to lend support to the Kosovo republic, which was proclaimed in Kacanik on July 7, 1990, as the Albanian television, monitored in the Yugoslav border town of Ohrid, reported on Tuesday.

The Kosovo republic was proclaimed by an illegal act, described by the Serbian and Yugoslav highest authorities as an act aimed against the country's integrity.

The Albanian Republican Party demands that "Albania and other countries worldwide recognize the Kosovo republic," that the ethnic Albanians in Yugoslavia "be given the right to self-determination," that the "Serbian and Yugoslav occupation forces withdraw from Kosovo," and that "all ethnic Albanians in Kosovo be released from prison."

Kosovo Association Holds Founding Assembly

AU3107130691 Tirana KOSOVA in Albanian 21 Jul 91 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Founding Assembly of the Kosovo Patriotic and Political Association"]

[Text] The Founding Assembly of the Kosovo Patriotic and Political Association was held in one of the halls of the National History Museum in Tirana on 9 June 1991. Besides delegates to the assembly, about 300 guests and supporters attended. Representatives of political parties and associations and religious communities also took part.

Mr. Murat Gjonbala, chairman of the Initiating Commission, opened the assembly. In his opening speech, he told those present about the association's history and formation and its activity so far. He said that despite the difficulties placed in its path by the Albanian "law-governed state," the association so far has about 12,700 members in all parts of Albania, from all religious faiths and virtually all the parties.

He emphasized that the association has achieved such success because of the cause to which it has dedicated itself: the nation's unification and progress. This fundamental aim of the society has attracted a broad membership to its ranks, because the idea of national unification has always been strong among our people, and has never been extinguished despite its persecution for 50 years by the Albanian Workers Party leadership and the Albanian state. In the great historical upheaval through which we are living, this feeling is reviving, growing stronger, and spreading fast.

However, although the association was welcomed by the people because it is dedicated to national unification, the "law-governed" Albanian state attempted to obstruct its normal activities for precisely the same reason. It failed to fulfill any of its legal obligations toward this association, not providing initial funds, premises, transportation, or anything. Because facilities have been provided for other associations that were approved at about the same time, there is justice in our view that the Kosovo Association has been singled out because of the particular problem to which it is devoted: all-national unification and progress. The association's membership can therefore conclude for the moment we will have no other assistance in realizing our high ideal of national unification besides our own tireless work and efforts, inspired by patriotism.

Mr. Murat Gjonbala read to the assembly the demand that the association's Initiating Commission had sent to the People's Assembly for the approval of a special resolution "On a New Policy Toward the Cause of Kosovo and Other Albanian Territories Beyond the Albanian State's Political Borders," which those present welcomed and approved.

The historian Myslym Islami then delivered a talk about the importance of the Albanian League of Prizren on the road toward national unification, dwelling on its particular relevance for the present day.

Hysamedin Feraj produced a chronological outline of the stand of the Albanian Communist Party (Albanian Workers Party) toward the national cause, concluding that it has objectively been an obstacle to the question's solution for 50 years.

Mr. Laurant Bicaj and Mr. Petrit Kasemi greeted the assembly on behalf of the Cameria Patriotic and Political Association.

The Association of Political Prisoners and Persecutees also greeted the assembly.

The Founding Assembly made the decision to publicly recognize and support Kosovo's Act of Independence from Serbia announced on 2 July 1990, the Republic of Kosovo and its Constitution declared by the legitimate Assembly of Kosovo at Kacanik on 7 September 1990, and the government the Assembly approved.

The Founding Assembly issued a call to the People's Assembly of the Republic of Albania, the government, and all political groups to publicly recognize and support the Republic of Kosovo, its assembly, Constitution, and legitimately elected government.

The Founding Assembly approved the Program and Statute of the Kosovo Patriotic and Political Association.

The Founding Assembly also elected the association's Presidium, consisting of Murat Gjonbala, chairman; Hysamedin Feraj, secretary; and Ajet Haxhia, Fatos Kikaj, Luan Dibra, and Muharrem Gerguri, members.

Joint Declaration on Soviet Treaty

AU0108202191 Sofia BTA in English 1935 GMT 1 Aug 91

[Text] Sofia, August 1 (BTA)—A joint declaration of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria and the Soviet Union was received at BTA.

Taking into consideration the radical democratic changes in Bulgaria and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the new realities in Europe and the world, the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria and the USSR declare the two countries' intention to draft and conclude a new state-to-state treaty, it is said in the declaration.

Both sides declare that it is not necessary to automatically renew the Bulgarian-Soviet Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance Treaty signed in 1967 for a further period of five years, as envisaged in Article 10 of the treaty.

Taking into account the importance of bilateral relations and the desire of Bulgaria and the Soviet Union to promote their relations on the basis of mutual confidence, sovereignty, equality, non-interference in either country's internal affairs and on the basis of mutual advantage, the two ministries will speed up the work on the preparation and the signing of a new Bulgarian-Soviet treaty to avoid any gap without an operating treaty, the conclusion of the new treaty will render the present one null and void, it is stated in the declaration.

Council of Ministers To Draft New USSR Treaty

AU0108202391 Sofia BTA in English 1925 GMT 1 Aug 91

[Text] Sofia, August 1 (BTA)—The government approved a bill of abrogation of the Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance Treaty with the USSR. The Council of Ministers will continue its work on drafting a new treaty, which should be completed by August 4, 1992, the expiry date of the now operating treaty which was signed in 1967. According to a clause contained in the treaty a notice of its discontinuation should be sent one year before its expiry after parliament passes an act on its abrogation. The government's bill discontinuing the treaty was backed up by the Parliamentary Committees on Foreign Policy and on National Security.

There was a motion to include the bill as Item No. 1 on the agenda of today's plenary session of parliament, but the voting procedure on the motion was postponed until the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria and the Soviet Union come out with a joint declaration on the abrogation of the treaty. The declaration was read today in the evening news round-up on the national radio. In it the two sides announce their intention to work out and conclude a new state-to-state treaty. They declare that there is no need to automatically renew the 1967 treaty for a further period of five years. To avoid any gap without an operating treaty, the two ministries will speed up the drafting and the conclusion of the new treaty which, when signed, will render the present one null and void. After the declaration was made public, the bill was included in the agenda of the parliamentary session.

Bulgaria wishes to develop normal relations with all states and it is for expanding its relations and cooperation with the Arab countries, Mr. Viktor Vulkov, minister of foreign affairs, stated today at a meeting with the leaders of the Arab countries' diplomatic missions accredited to Bulgaria.

Mr. Atanas Paparizov, minister of foreign economic relations, returned from Paris today. He defined his talks with French government officials and representatives of the business circles as useful. Some problems related to the fulfillment of the agreements reached at the session of the joint committee in April were discussed in concrete. New documents were not signed, the committee will hold its next session in Sofia at the beginning of 1992.

Minister Paparizov said that French banking experts, now waiting for the outcome of Bulgaria's negotiations with the Paris Club, would shortly arrive in Sofia.

The representatives of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria at the Tripartite Commission for Harmonizing Interests insist on holding an extraordinary session of the commission tomorrow. The trade union organization wants to negotiate with the government a new social minimum because of the explosive rise in the prices of a number of essential goods.

The Coordinating Council of the Trade Union of Railmen's strike committee decided to stop the operation of all categories of passenger trains on August 5 from 8.00 to 9.00 hours. This action is taken as a first step because the railmen's demands stated in their declarations of June 25 and July 16 have neither been satisfied nor have they received any information about measures taken to settle their problems.

The government approved new and higher tariffs for legal activities. There is a substantial rise in company registration fees: 500 leva for sole proprietorships, 3,000 for partnerships and limited liability companies and 5,000 for joint-stock companies.

Mr. Dimitur Doganov, deputy minister of health, expressed his great concern over the fate of sick people in Bulgaria because of the inadequate funds allocated to health care: only 6,000 million leva out of a total of 71,000 million in the budget expenditure. At a press conference Mr. Doganov criticized Mr. Ivan Kostov, minister of finance, for the monetary system introduced by him and for the mechanical approach applied in the distribution of funds.

Col. Gen. Atanas Semerdzhiev, Bulgaria's vice president, was discharged from active duty at his request with a presidential decree of July 30.

Assembly Adopts Soviet Treaty Bill

AU0108203791 Sofia BTA in English 1959 GMT 1 Aug 91

[Text] Sofia, August 1 (BTA)—Late this evening the Bulgarian Parliament adopted the bill abrogating the Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance Treaty Bulgaria and the USSR signed in 1967.

The voting procedure took place after scandals and dramatic turns.

The bill was included as item No. 1 in the draft agenda of the parliamentary session. It was adopted, however, five hours later. The MP's of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) insisted that it should be discussed only after parliament familiarizes itself with the declaration of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria and the Soviet Union according to which the treaty will not be automatically renewed. This would have delayed the adoption of the bill. Most probably parliament will not hold a session tomorrow because the 1903 Ilinden-Preobrazhenie Uprising is going to be solemnly marked and the Socialists will hold a party conference. Then comes the weekend. But according to Article 10 of the treaty it is automatically renewed for a further period of five years if one year before its expiry date—August 4, 1992, one of the parties does not decide otherwise.

The MP's of the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) and Foreign Minister Viktor Vulkov raised objections against the position of the Socialists. Then the motion to include the treaty problem in the agenda was put to the vote. It was voted down by 133 for and 132 against. A little later Mr. Filip Ishpekov, chairman of the Parliamentary Foreign Policy Committee, moved for a second vote. There was a long break and after it parliament proceeded to discuss so.... [item incomplete as received]

Zhelev Concerned About Fair Elections

AU0108182491 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 27 Jul 91 p 2

[Silviya Stefanova report]

[Text] On 29 July consultations will start at the Presidency on determining the composition of the Central Electoral Commission, preparing for the election campaign, and correcting the errors in the electoral registers, bearing in mind the mistakes in the protocol of last year's elections. This was announced at the regular weekly news briefing held in the Presidency on 26 July.

Without imposing its views, and if the new electoral law provides for such powers (which are traditional for a head of state, although they are not mentioned in the new Constitution), the Presidency is ready to propose its own ideas concerning the creation of electoral districts. The Presidential Chancellery is working on this, in accordance with the presidential powers altered by the new Constitution. As Ivaylo Trifonov, the presidential spokesman, emphasized, this is particularly important, because President Zhelyu Zhelev now has the right to veto laws.

The following announcements were made at the news conference:

—The president is indeed a member of the Club for Liberal Democracy formed on 16 July 1991, since the club corresponds to his political convictions.

—Dr. Zhelev has voiced concern that certain political forces are using Bulgaria's economic difficulties to their advantage in their campaigns.

—The president received with satisfaction the appeal of the Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections and the National Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces for common efforts to ensure fair elections.

Ivaylo Trifonov said that presently there are no plans for Dr. Zhelev to hold a meeting with the leadership of television and radio similar to the one that the prime minister held in the Bulgarian Radio offices.

SDS Requests Check of 1990 Elections

AU0108183891 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 27 Jul 91 p 2

["Text" of letter "signed by authorized representatives of all the organizations of the Union of Democratic Forces, SDS, who took part in the 25 July 1991 Session of the National Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces" held in Sofia; date of letter not given]

[Text] To the European Parliament, the Council of Europe, and the Charter for Human Rights:

Dear Sirs:

Bearing in mind the exceptionally high tension in our country,

bearing in mind that this tension is caused to a great extent by serious suspicions concerning the falsification of the 1990 elections, and

bearing in mind that the opposition in Bulgaria does not have access to the primary documents of the previous elections and that the organs of government deliberately do not allow human rights experts access to these documents,

we appeal for your assistance in urging the parliamentary organs of Bulgaria to guarantee us the opportunity to acquaint ourselves with the primary documents of the June 1990 elections.

This should happen as soon as possible, and before the September 1991 elections, to reduce the tension in the country and enable the elections to be held under normal conditions.

Dear sirs, we rely on your support for a highly humane and principled act, that is, support for checking the validity of the June 1990 legislative elections.

(The signatures follow of the authorized representatives of all the organizations in the Union of Democratic Forces that took part in 25 July 1991 meeting of the National Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces.)

National Radicals Form Election Coalition

AU0208080991 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 30 Jul 91 p 2

[Boyka Ilieva report]

[Text] The Bulgarian National Radical Party [BNRP] is forming its election coalition, according to an announcement made by the party chairman, Dr. Ivan Georgiev, at a news conference in Sofia on 29 July.

In addition to the BNRP, the coalition will include the Bulgarian Christian Democratic Party-Center, the Bulgarian Fatherland Party-Plovdiv, the Bulgarian National Union "New Democracy," the Movement for Social Rights and Progress, the Democratic Front, and the Council for Strategic Studies, as well as Prof. Ivan Dundarov, the leader representing the Bessarabian Bulgarians in Bulgaria.

The claims that National Assembly deputy Rumen Vodenicharov is standing in the next elections as a BNRP candidate are only rumors, said Dr. Ivan Georgiev, who was elected as president of Bulgaria last spring by the so-called Grand National Assembly in Oborishte.

Captain Georgi Kolev made an appeal for assistance to public opinion and the Bulgarian journalists. He is chairman of the "'Rat' [as transliterated] Legion" Independent Military Trade Union Organization, which was founded in May 1990 but not registered by the court.

KNSB Leader on Trade Union Role in Elections

AU0208105491 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 29 Jul 91 pp 1, 2

[Sonya Gulubarova report]

[Excerpt] Television viewers probably remembered very well the simple and clear formula stated by Prof. Krustyu Petkov on the Sunday Panorama program on television [on 28 July]: "Yes to the reform in the economic and political spheres as a quick and peaceful way to change the system. Yes to a sensible social policy and protection of the socially disadvantaged. Yes to democracy, pluralism, and freedom of the individual. On the other hand, no to communism, no to chaos, and no to disorder and violence."

The scandalous lessons of the last elections make all of us address the question of the fairness of the next elections. Will the trade unions assume the task of becoming guarantors for this, given that they are already a basic force in conducting the reform, maintaining social peace, and in negotiating wages—a unique process for our country? In answer to this question, Prof. Petkov let it be understood that the contact groups set up between the two trade union confederations will now draft the formula for trade union participation in conducting the elections. A much more complex question is: Will the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria [KNSB] remain neutral in the elections themselves? Can this be so in a situation where the Podkrepa Labor Confederation, through the citizens committees of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], is fully able to put its own candidates forward for parliament, and where the so-called trade union "Edinstvo" is calling for socialist unity, under the aegis of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, in order to win a complete election victory?

It is evident that the actions of the KNSB will be fully adequate, and probably precise as well. [passage omitted]

Dimitrov Attends London Conference on East Europe

AU0208105791 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 29 Jul 91 p 1

[Petur Milanov report]

[Text] On 28 July Filip Dimitrov, chairman of the National Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] returned from a 2-day visit to Great Britain. At the invitation of Sir Geoffrey Pattie, deputy chairman of the ruling Conservative Party, he attended an international conference organized by his hosts on the topic: "How To Make the Revolution Irreversible—Possible Programs for Central and Eastern Europe."

At Sofia Airport Mr. Dimitrov told journalists: "The conference was very useful. On the one hand, we explained our positions, and on the other, we were able to find out how the situation in our region is assessed in West European political circles and in Great Britain in particular. I should mention that the assessment of the Western politicians and experts is very precise and realistic.

"I also derived benefit from the contacts with representatives of the governments and democratic organizations of the former socialist countries. We were able to exchange experiences and views and synchronize our watches. We had opportunities to meet and talk with members of the European Parliament, members of the British House of Commons, and others.

"It is important to note that all our partners link their aid and investment programs with the irreversibility of the democratic processes in our country and with the formation of a noncommunist majority in the legislature and the government that it approves.

"We also received proposals on sending observers to cover the elections in September, including certain eminent British politicians and public figures, but I would like their names to remain secret for the time being."

KNSB Demands Higher Minimum Subsistence Level

AU0108180391 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 1 Aug 91

[Text] In a letter addressed to Dimitur Ludzhev, deputy prime minister and chairman of the National Tripartite Commission for Coordinating Interests, the delegation of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria [KNSB] to the Tripartite Commission demands the convening of an extraordinary session of the commission on 2 August.

At this meeting we want to agree with the government on a new figure for the minimum social subsistence level, in view of the explosive rise in the prices of a number of vitally important goods. The trade unions contend that these prices exceed the agreed values according to which the present minimum subsistence level was calculated. It has been insisted that the new minimum social subsistence level should be borne in mind during the forthcoming wages negotiations.

If the government is unable to convene a plenary session of the National Tripartite Commission, bilateral talks should be held with the government on these issues on the same date. This is the categorical position of the KNSB.

Kozloduy Inspection; New Generator Started

AU0108110191 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 1 Aug 91

[Text] From our correspondent in Vratsa, we have learned that an inspection of the fifth block at the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant has been completed by an International Atomic Energy Agency mission. For more than two weeks, experts from the agency inspected the state of the 1,000 megawatt block regarding its operation, automatic functioning, radiation protection, and its technical condition. We have an assurance from our correspondent of a short interview on the preliminary assessment of the mission's leader, Mr. [name indistinct]. This will be broadcast as soon as it is received.

The tenth turbo generator of the new sixth block of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant began functioning at 0319 local time. BTA announced this, having received the information from the director of the plant. In his opinion, the generator, which was set in motion only experimentally, will work normally.

Experts Complete Inspection of Kozloduy Unit 5

AU0108121391 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1100 GMT 1 Aug 91

[Text] Today, after three weeks of work, experts of the International Atomic Energy Agency [IAEA] completed their inspection of the No. 5 Generating Unit at the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant. Our correspondent Veselin (?Mikulov) sent the following report over the telephone:

[Begin Mikulov recording] I asked Mr. Ashley, the leader of the group, who is a nuclear power engineering expert from the United States, to briefly summarize the results of the inspection:

[Begin Ashley recording in English, fading into Bulgarian translation by Mikulov] Our recommendations are to improve the organizational structure and to define even more closely the responsibilities of all the staff at the plant; to improve the level of technical safety; and to continue carrying out the measures that are already being taken now to ensure cleanliness and healthy working conditions.

The second group of remarks and recommendations are mainly concerned with technical questions relating to the level of support and monitoring. In conclusion, Mr. Ashley noted, we established a definite difference in the condition of the first four generating units and the No. 5 Unit. I think that the results of the inspection of the No. 5 unit are much better. Nevertheless, fundamental changes are still necessary, for which some time will be needed.

I asked Mr. Ashley if there is any risk of the unit being shut down. He replied that there are no realistic grounds for this.

Here is the opinion of physicist Ivan Ivanov, director of the Nos. 5 and 6 Generating Units at the plant and leader of the Bulgarian section of the mission: [end Mikulov recording]

[Begin Ivanov recording] In my opinion, the most important thing that we have achieved during the past three weeks, during which Bulgarian and IAEA specialists worked together, is, I would say, the inculcation of a new kind of thinking that has spread down to our workers at the plant. There have to be changes in the workers' attitudes. We have to make continuous improvements in order to achieve a level of operational safety that fully conforms to modern requirements. [end Ivanov recording]

Financial Aid Received From Austria

AU0208090591 Sofia BTA in English 0818 GMT 2 Aug 91

[Text] Sofia, August 2 (BTA)—In the capital of Austria Bulgarian Minister of Finance Ivan Kostov has been offered a credit of 210 million Austrian schillings (equal

to 20 million dollars). Thus Austria gives its portion of the financial aid Bulgaria was promised by G-24.

The Austrian bankers and businessmen are not afraid to credit Bulgarian import and export, Mr. Ivan Kostov says in "DEMOKRATSIYA", the paper of the opposition Union of Democratic Forces. The Austrian business circles know Bulgaria very well, he adds.

The finance minister explains that he had talks with Bulgarians who run businesses in Austria. They expressed their readiness to support a programme for stimulating Bulgarian export.

Mr. Ivan Kostov met with representatives of Kontrollbank concerning the procedure of concluding a Bulgarian-Austrian agreement on the settlement of Bulgaria's foreign debt. There is a chance of Kontrollbank reopening the credit lines for Bulgarian exports. According to the finance minister this is a breakthrough in the isolation of this country after the moratorium on its foreign debt payments.

Asked if he has learnt something about the laundering of Bulgarian black money in Austria, Mr. Kostov says that he has some information and will make it public after some time.

Road Transport Agreement Signed With Albania

AU0108185891 Sofia BTA in English 1814 GMT 1 Aug 91

[Text] Sofia, August 1 (BTA)—Today Bulgaria and Albania signed an intergovernmental agreement on international freight and passenger road transport. This was the last European agreement of this type which Bulgaria had to sign. Now Bulgaria has agreement-based contacts for the promotion of road transport with all countries on the continent, Mr. Veselin Pavlov, minister of transport, stressed on signing the document.

For Albania the agreement was signed by Mr. Fatos Bitincka, minister of transport and communications, who is visiting this country. The two sides discussed the two countries' cooperation in the field of transport. It was pointed out that the promotion of bilateral relations would require to develop the infrastructure of roads and railways. The possibility of speeding up the conclusion of an agreement between Khemus Air and Albansport for the operation of the Tirana-Sofia airline was considered. A protocol was signed on making arrangements for a meeting of all parties concerned to coordinate the possibilities of opening a new West-East transport channel.

Calfa Reports on Bilateral Issues, Hexagonale

AU0108115891 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 29 July 91 pp 1, 5

[Josef Vesely report on news conference with CSFR Prime Minister Marian Calfa after the July Hexagonale meeting in Dubrovnik: "The Crisis Came Without an Invitation"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Czechoslovak journalists are neither blind nor deaf with respect to the Yugoslav crisis, and one cannot be surprised that at the Belvedere hotel in Dubrovnik following the conclusion of the Hexagonale meeting they turned to their prime minister, Marian Calfa, mostly with questions concerning the content of the multilateral as well as the bilateral talks between prime ministers.

Let us begin with the meeting of the prime ministers of two federal governments—the CSFR and the SFRY. Commenting on the meeting, among other things, Marian Calfa told Czechoslovak journalists: "Ante Markovic analyzed what actually happened. For 18 months, the SFRY was very successful in implementing an economic reform that is based on the same principles as the Czechoslovak reform. We managed to reduce inflation to 5 percent. At the moment when the reform could begin to have full effect, according to him, calls came from the republics emphasizing their own specific features and claiming that the reform should not be implemented throughout Yugoslavia as a complex whole. This was, according to Ante Markovic, the beginning of the erosion of the reform. It continued with the republics' demands for their own means of executing power [vlastni mocenske prostredky], particularly the armed forces. It is clear that the entire Hexagonale meeting in Dubrovnik is influenced by the situation in the host country, and it was even discussed at the plenary session. Markovic was positive about the future prospects, but this was in contrast with the Friday speech by Slovene representative Tudjman, who told the prime ministers of the six European countries that while they talk here, out there, beyond the walls, there are fighting and casualities. He expressed his people's determination to fight for their independence, even if they had to call the entire nation to join in this fight.... The situation remains very complex, and I believe that the talks with Markovic were extremely edifying, including talks regarding the situation in Czechoslovakia."

The CSFR prime minister then returned briefly to the subject of his talks with Austrian Federal Chancellor Franz Vranitzky, who was very interested in the impact of the Yugoslav crisis on Czechoslovakia. The talks also dealt with economic cooperation. "Knock on wood," M. Calfa said further, "it seems that Austrian capital is beginning to settle in Czechoslovakia. This trend is a much-needed one for Czechoslovakia today."

At the request of Czechoslovak journalists, the prime minister provided some more details on the bilateral talks with his Hungarian counterpart Jozsef Antall: "It was a dialogue that consisted of two monologues." Of course, this does not give an overall picture of Czech-Hungarian relations, but it does give a reflection of the unfortunate Gabcikovo-Nagymaros issue. "The Hungarian prime minister assured me," the Czechoslovak prime minister added, "that so far, the opposition was able to fully agree with the government coalition on only two points, i.e., the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact and the rejection of the Danube hydroelectric project. This was not new information for us; and therefore, as early as Thursday's government session in Prague, we agreed that Minister Vavrousek will attempt to speak in the Hungarian legislature, or at least in the Committee for the Environment. In addition, we will suggest to our Federal Assembly that its deputies attempt to exchange opinions directly with their Hungarian counterparts. We are at an impasse, as far as government talks are concerned. We will do everything in our power to bypass in some way the negative impact of a single problem on our relationship. I personally believe that our part must be completed. I have a philosophy: "Let us put another 2 billion [currency not specified] into this project to find out whether we definitely have to write off the 14 billion it has cost us so far. However, it would be a crime not to be absolutely certain whether the original billions were invested well or badly. Of course we must be ready, and we have enough strength to stop the project if the 2 billion test fails."

Prime Minister Calfa spoke also about his dialogue with the Polish prime minister, the new member of this regional grouping. According to Calfa, Jan Krzysztof Bielecki was interested in the specific contribution that membership could bring to his country and asked for Czechoslovak support for its interest in coordinating transportation and telecommunications. However, today this is the responsibility of Italy and Yugoslavia. Warsaw would have a better chance if it wanted to assume responsibility for, let us say, health care.

To our correspondent's question whether Poland's membership would strengthen the position of Czechoslovakia in the Hexagonale, Prime Minister Calfa said, among other things: "I believe that this step brings with it new possibilities for cooperation. Poland is a bridge connecting Central Europe with Scandinavia. The CSFR joined a grouping that evolved from the Alpine-Adriatic cooperation in the south of the region. Our entry meant a shift to the north, and this is reinforced by the joining of Poland."

We also asked the Czechoslovak prime minister about the prospects for future "European" cooperation between the CSFR, Poland, and Hungary that, as far as the strategic goals of their cooperation with Central Europe are concerned, is viewed by the European Community, NATO, and even the United States, as a single whole.

"All three of us want to join the European Community, which is a deeply integrational grouping. This does not preclude the development of cooperation within the

Hexagonale, which includes Italy—one of the member countries of the Twelve. We understand it as a natural, positive contribution to regional cooperation. Moreover, as neighbors, we can only gain by improving transport, communications, or telecommunications. Let us not forget about the development of the natural bonds between the people from these three states. My opinion is that the two processes complement one another, and I do not believe that either of them is a precondition for the other one."

Our correspondent also asked the prime minister how—besides the northward direction—the regional cooperation could be expanded westwards, to the southern federal laender of Germany.

"The European Community element is represented in the Hexagonale by the Italians," M. Calfa said, and then continued: "The federal laender that you mentioned are not directly represented here. However, projects are being considered like the new Prague-Munich-Innsbruck-Verona highway. Bavaria will certainly participate now. We view Bavaria as interested in speeding up the completion of the Prague-Nuremberg highway, as bringing in investors, and perhaps even capital. This would speed up the connection of the Central European transport network into the existing well-developed transport systems of Western Europe."

In answer to the last question by our correspondent, concerning the new parliamentary dimension of the Hexagonale, the prime minister admitted that parliaments prefer criticizing their governments, and continued: "I believe, however, that especially for some deputies, it would be most beneficial if they exchanged their legislative work experience with their colleagues in other Hexagonale countries—for instance, in the area of how the laws are drafted. In addition, as a prime minister, I would love to see deputies benefitting from their first meeting with their counterparts from the partner countries by gaining some knowledge in this vein...."

Dubrovsky Comments on Army Ability, Redeployment

LD0108091291 Bratislava Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Slovak 1630 GMT 31 Jul 91

[Excerpts] German Defense Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg today ended his three-day official visit to Czechoslovakia. A news conference took place at the Ministry of Defense in Prague prior to his departure. [passage omitted]

Stoltenberg said that expert-level talks will be held on the possibility of modernization of Czechoslovak military technology. He also reacted to some views questioning the combat ability of our Army, which were answered by Lubos Dobrovsky as follows:

[Begin Dubrovsky recording] I want to stress one important matter: In the entire process of redeployment, as well as following the completion of redeployment, the Czechoslovak Army as a whole is obliged to and capable of facing a threat anywhere on Czech or Slovak territory. I stress—as a whole. The new redeployment of the Czechoslovak Army and the fulfillment of operational plans through which we will oppose possible threats makes things easier but is not a guarantee. I want to add that worries about the Czechoslovak Army not being capable of fighting some unforeseeable number of refugees who might penetrate the territory of Czechoslovakia are not true. It is capable of fighting them. All responsible CSFR officials, particularly the members of the State Defense Council, have been briefed on the operational plans prepared long before this issue became public. They have thus been briefed on the operational plans through which, by means of the army, we will regulate such a dangerous stream of refugees. [end recording]

[Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Czech at 1730 GMT on 31 July carries the following additional recorded excerpt of Dobrovsky's comments at the news conference: "I was given a verbal lesson by Minister Pittner [Slovak interior minister] that since I am on vacation I should rest and should not stir up things. In my view, things are being stirred up, above all, by those who wish to arm themselves against those who might express their dissatisfaction with the policy of their own government. Furthermore, things are stirred up also by those who cast doubt on the credibility of the Czechoslovak Army by claiming that it does not respect the Defense Ministry leadership and the decisions made by the State Defense Council on redeployment issues."]

Commentary Views Need for Change in Army Policy

AU3107173291 Bratislava SLOVENSKY DENNIK in Slovak 29 Jul 91 pp 1, 2

[Peter Svec commentary: "A Right to a Defense Capability"]

[Text] Several recent events—the adoption of a military doctrine, the Yugoslav Federal Army's assault on Slovenia, and, finally, the recently- published Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] draft for a state treaty between the Slovak and Czech Republics—have provoked me, as a professional soldier, into writing this article.

I personally support the idea of complete sovereignty for Slovakia, which—along with the Czech Republic—would establish a monetary, customs, and defense union based on the principle of dualism. However, I am also following the other proposals. If in the future Czech representatives were forced to accept the conditions for an equal federation (we currently have a unitarian state), this federation would have to contain considerable confederative elements. This is, in fact, contained in the KDH draft.

In my article, I will deal in particular with the issue of joint defense, because the KDH draft is the only one of

the three published drafts that respects the need for changes in our joint state's Army policy. The cases of Lithuania, Slovenia, and also of Slovakia in 1939 (the so-called Homola putsch)—or the misuse of armies against the rights of nations—demonstrate that defending states made up of several state-forming nations will have to be completely readdressed, while the basis for this will be achieved through international trust.

Whether it is acknowledged or not, the adoption of a military doctrine is also a step backward, with a return to the "democracy" of the first Czechoslovak Republic and its Homola putsch. This is the most important document on Army policy, which once again makes possible the misuse of the Army against Slovakia with impunity. This means I am justified in declaring, in all seriousness, that the doctrine is territorially undemocratic and anti-Slovak and only defends the interests of one nation! In view of the valid Federal Assembly agenda and jurisdiction, the Slovak deputies could not have prevented it from being adopted even if they had all completely rejected it (!!!), which does not reduce their responsibility to eradicate this situation in the nation's interest. I must mention that the Czech military-political lobby is preparing another unitarian and anti-Slovak law on the Czechoslovak Army. The natural ignorance of Army affairs on the part of the overwhelming majority of deputies—not excepting deputies on the Defense and Security Affairs Committee—is abused when these laws are proposed and adopted. At the same time, well-informed and knowledgeable experts on the Army are completely in the hands of Charter 77!

Many parties included in their electoral programs a demand that Slovak soldiers carry out their basic military training in Slovakia. This is a very narrow point of view. In the interest of the nation, it is necessary to demand that the Czechoslovak Army be restructured from a unitarian Army into a joint Army or that it be restructured on a dual nation principle where the joint Defense Ministry will have a coordinating and conceptual function, with parity for both partners being guaranteed. Then it would be possible for the thousands of Slovak graduates from all the military colleges not to have to divest themselves—"on orders" (from Prague)—of their national character in a Czech language environment. Let me make it clear that redeployment will only slightly improve the situation.

Today's Czechoslovak Army is a pressure-exerting institution used to dictate the conditions for coexistence to a smaller nation (this is not only a Czechoslovak Army trait....). We proceed from the premise that our partners in coexistence—whose representatives have already let us down several times when fulfilling agreements—have even misused the Army and, in the words of our joint president, have just recently indicated a repetition (from the presidential address to the Federal Assembly on 10 December 1990!!!); it is never possible to trust someone on the basis of promises....

In brief, the following conditions have to be fulfilled in restructuring the principles for our joint defense:

1. Decisions concerning all Slovak personnel issues and Slovak representatives in the joint bodies (promotions, awards, appointments, and so on) have to be made exclusively by the national bodies and the national personnel administrations. This does not discount the possibility of service in the other republic.

2. The establishment of a national defense body that would directly control the Slovak part of the joint Army. This part would be composed of all elements. Part of the stand-by forces could be detailed for the joint command's operational needs. Contentious conceptual issues would be resolved by an arbitration commission.

3. When adopting any laws on our joint defense, it is necessary to prevent majoritarianism (for example, the military doctrine), and it is necessary to subject these documents to ratification by the national legislatures.

4. Only the nation's leader, with the agreement of the Federal Assembly, may decide to use the Army to resolve domestic disputes on national territory. The authority of the joint head of state would be reduced to decision-making in the event of an attack from outside. No state-forming nation can unreservedly delegate complete responsibility for its defense to a supranational body!

In its current form, our Army is an effective instrument against the Slovak peoples' right to self-determination. Every nation has a right to a defense capability. It is the duty of Slovak national representatives to create legislative guarantees against repeated occupation by our own troops. Let us realize that no one negotiates with the defenseless! The defenseless are dictated to! Let us finally stop underestimating the Army!

Carnogursky on Republics, Home Guard, Opposition

LD0208084691 Bratislava Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Slovak 1630 GMT 1 Aug 91

[Text] The Slovak Government has now been 100 days in office. This was the subject of a news conference held in Bratislava today, attended by a large number of Czechoslovak and foreign journalists. It was given by Slovak Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky and Deputy Prime Ministers Martin Porubjak and Anton Vavro. We will broadcast an interview with the prime minister and the first deputy prime minister in our lunchtime edition of Radiojournal. For this slot, we have selected three replies given by Mr. Carnogursky. The first concerns the question whether the present government has positively influenced the development of Slovak-Czech relations:

[Begin Carnogursky recording] I believe that the very reconstruction of the present government has positively influenced these relations in the sense that the strong words, with the Czech side took as provocative, have been dropped. Of course, certain differences of interest

between the Slovak and Czech Republics persist. These will be manifested in disputes and conflicts. The fact that conflicts exist is after all a part of life, and we intend to tackle such conflicts. From this viewpoint, the overall attitude of the government toward the Czech Government, and indeed the federal one, is such that we do not use strong words, while at the same time we do not retreat from our ideas about the arrangement of mutual relations. [end recording]

The problem of the home guard—a question that has recently stirred the public—was also aired.

[Begin Carnogursky recording] I would perhaps only like to say on this issue that in my view the whole thing—the raising of the subject of the home guard—was dramatized, because the fact is that in many states, including democratic ones, a home guard does exist. Moreover, the possibility of the establishment of a territorial defense force can be derived, to say the least, from the Czechoslovak defense doctrine adopted by the Federal Assembly. By what name such a territorial defense force should be called is another matter, but it could also be called a home guard. At present, there does not exist an urgent need for setting up a home guard, and indeed, no such plans exist or at least the Slovak government has not been informed about any such plans in this regard, including from the Defense Ministry. For this reason, this is not at present a subject for the Slovak Government. [end recording]

Finally, a reply to the question about how Prime Minister Carnogursky assesses the opposition:

[Begin Carnogursky recording] The fact is that the opposition has demonstrated its willingness to cooperate with the government, in particular in passing a number of laws. It was shown in the Slovak National Council's legislative activity that, in effect, there was no fundamental dividing line between the government and the opposition. The laws were passed by a majority that also included opposition deputies. This, too, is a sign that the specific and direct activity of the government proceeds from objective conditions existing in Slovakia, and in this respect, it has met with opposition support. I believe that the opposition has so far been incapable of presenting a different cohesive political concept, both within the broadest framework and in the particular aspects of it, such as in economic or cultural policy. The opposition criticism of the government is conducted in rather general terms without the presentation of a different specific platform. I believe that members of the Movement For Democratic Slovakia, who are Federal Assembly deputies, failed in a totally incomprehensible manner to take the opportunity to present constructive opposition proposals and different concepts in the Federal Assembly. By not attending Federal Assembly meetings and by not taking part in the work either of the individual committees or in the Assembly's plenum, they missed one of their opportunities to present different policies. Therefore, this factor, the passing of government-sponsored bills in the Slovak National Council by a majority that included opposition deputies, demonstrates to me that there is no other cohesive policy concept against the government policy concept.

HZDS Leaders on Government Coalition, Dubcek

LD0108161691 Bratislava Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 31 Jul 91

[Text] The representatives of the Movement for Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] held a news conference in Bratislava today. Vladimir Meciar, chairman of the movement, was not present. He is on vacation and is moving from Trencin to Bratislava.

In introductory remarks, Milan Knazko congratulated the Public Against Violence movement on another of the numerous attributes they keep ascribing to the federation. This time it is the attribute of democracy. Our editor, (Ivan Kosec), interviewed Rudolf Filkus, chairman of the Movement for Democratic Slovakia [title as received]:

[Begin recording] [(Kosec)] To start with, let us speak about the Slovak Government that has recently been reconstructed. It has been shown in the last few days that there are some disagreements between the coalition partners. What is your view on the past, present, and future of this government?

[Filkus] Above all, I would like to assess positively the steps of the Slovak Government in the course of the economic reform, and in their macro-economic stabilization policy in particular, as it pertains to the previous government. I mean here the materials we proposed to the government and that the government approved in connection with the coordination of the steps for economic reform and in connection with the strategy of the Slovak economy until 1992, and also the material on enhancing development that [words indistinct] Deputy Prime Minister Vavro. This must be seen very positively, especially since changing to a market mechanism means there is necessary intervention by the economic center. We spoke about this in our analysis, speeches, and materials. This intervention takes the form of using the surplus of the state budgets, of thinking of tax relief of various kinds, and of the banks helping with credits and with interest rates. I do not want to sound negative, but may I ask whether it would not have been more advantageous to think about these measures half a year ago, when we made proposals about the economic center intervening in the economy? We might have prevented the worsening recession of the economy that now exists.

[(Kosec)] The primary topic recently has been Alexander Dubcek. Prime Minister Pithart said, I think yesterday, that the latest speech by Mr. Dubcek was a shift from the governmental position to the position of the opposition. How do you see future developments in connection with Alexander Dubcek?

[Filkus] I think that it is an undemocratic way of thinking, a non-legislative way of thinking, and that Mr.

Dubcek is able to carry out his post from a point of view above party policies. I can give evidence of this: He is able to assume at the proper time a standpoint on various serious problems, including the most important problems of the advancement of our society, such as the state legislative framework, the referendum issues, and many others, an action he has always taken from a position above party policies.

[(Kosec)] So you think that he will be able to stay in his post until the end of this election period?

[Filkus] I am convinced of it. I am not only convinced, but our entire movement will do our utmost to achieve this.

[(Kosec)] The Public Against Violence movement proposes to carry out a referendum about the state legislative framework as quickly as possible. What do you think about this?

[Filkus] It must be asked why we hurry now. Why are we trying to speed up the entire process? We have agreed that it will be the Slovak National Council that will make its views known on this, as well as the Czech National Council. Then we will consider further steps. I think that we have not exhausted all possibilities yet. I also think that it is very easy to mishandle a referendum. If a referendum is to have just one question, it can be worded in such a way that a citizen would not even know what he was going to vote for and what he was not. I think that it first will have to be made a subject of discussion, a subject of analysis.

[(Kosec)] Mr. Zelenay [Federal Assembly deputy], you spoke about setting up a Russian-Slovak bank in Bratislava. As Jan Carnogursky says, Boris Yeltsin apparently had no idea about this when he was visiting Bratislava. How do you explain this fact?

[Zelanay] Look, I was the one who was preparing that trip. I was responsible for it as a deputy minister for international relations of the Slovak Republic. We also assessed the results of this visit with the Soviet side, with the representatives of the general consulate. They are preparing further steps. I can say quite clearly that the Soviet side knew about this initiative. In addition, groups of experts were prepared to hold talks about it. Apart from this, I flew with the representatives of the Russian Federation from Moscow to Prague, where we actually met and where we also discussed it. Therefore, it is not true that they knew nothing about it. I do not know—I was not present at the talks of Mr. Carnogursky and Mr. Yeltsin—I do not know what Mr. Yeltsin said. I do not know how it was translated, but I can say quite clearly that the Soviet and the Russian side were informed about it. [end recording]

Party Leaders Discuss Political Scene, Ideas

LD3107215191 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Czech 2005 GMT 30 Jul 91

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Yesterday, we drew the names of the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL], and the Association for the Republic—the Republican Party of Czechoslovakia. [passage omitted]

As we learned, Miroslav Sladek [Republican Party chairman] is ill, so I welcome in the studio Jan Vik, secretary and press spokesman of the Association for the Republic of the Republican Party of Czechoslovakia. Good evening.

[Announcer, in Slovak] The Party of the Democratic Left is represented in Bratislava by its chairman Peter Weiss. Good evening.

[Weiss, in Slovak] Good evening.

[Announcer] [passage omitted] Why have you not made a break from the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia?

[Weiss, in Slovak] Each political transformation requires a certain amount of time and must take into consideration both legal and political circumstances. The legal circumstance is, for example, the law on expropriation of the former Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. Political circumstances also exist. By forming a (?federation) from the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia [KSCM] and the SDL, we also wished to demonstrate the absolute possibility of a truly serious partnership between two republican parties in the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic. Some tensions emanating from the principally new directions of the KSCM and the SDL do exist. In our view, the process of breaking away from the KSCM is behind schedule, but a Democratic Left has also formed there. We wish to discuss these matters with the KSCM Executive Committee. We wish to achieve a high standard of political decisionmaking even in this respect.

[Announcer, in Slovak] We will now give the floor to Prague. Please go ahead.

[Announcer] Mr. Vik, it has become common knowledge that a hallmark of your party is a radical negation of almost everything. What would you do if some government seats belonged to you beginning today?

[Vik] To start with, I would like to welcome the fact that after almost a year we are given a chance to speak on Czechoslovak television. We regard this as an absolute change in the position of the Czechoslovak television leadership that gave us this chance. I would like to take the liberty to immodestly state that, were it not for our rally held on 8 and 9 June outside Czechoslovak television, I would not be sitting here now. I would also like to tell our members and supporters that we intend to continue these actions. Our rally in front of Czechoslovak television begins at 1700 on 16 August. It will continue throughout Saturday and will end at 1400 on

Sunday. I would also like to invite our supporters and members to an extralegislative assembly rally that will take place on 21 August at 1630 in the Old Town Square.

Now let me answer your question. At the present time, the paradox is that in the leadership, and in the high state posts of the Czechoslovak Republic are former exponents of the Communist regime. You undoubtedly know whom I mean, but to be sure I'll repeat their names. These are, in particular, the federal prime minister, Mr. Calfa, who from the position of deputy federal premier under Husak, climbed to the post of federal prime minister after the revolution that was supposed to have overthrown the Communist regime. This fact alone indicates that not all is well in our state. We think that this is not only the case of Mr. Calfa, but that it concerns other gentlemen, such as Messrs. Dubcek, Jicinsky, Rychetsky, and so on. We could go on and on listing them. We, as a party, demand that an extraordinary legislative election be announced because we feel that the current political and economic situation is heading for the devastation of the Czechoslovak Republic, and we are going to avert it by all means. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] I must say that you take the floor in the legislature in a cultivated manner. But do you get such views from the members of the government? True, you criticize them, you criticize government policy, and the policy of the economic reform, but you do not bring any thoughts as to how to handle it. How would you proceed if you had to decide? What would you do differently from the government?

[Vik] I would say that it is not true that we do not come up with topical ideas. In the federal government, our deputies took part in the creation of the alternative key transformation bills. They were outvoted. In the Slovak National Council, I personally, and other deputies, came up with very topical ideas. In time we drew attention to certain problems in economic policy. It is good for us to know that some of our comments were accepted by the government. We know, for example, that the Christian Democratic Movement has openly admitted that some aspects of our social program have been incorporated into its conception.

If we were to make decisions, above all, we would do all we could so that citizens do not feel left out of the game and to have sufficient information to know how much necessary economic transformation at a particular time must cost to have basic security. Naturally, we are for [word indistinct] economic policy. We need a modern market economy, I stress, modern market economy, and not a return to the thirties of the last century.

[Announcer] Being so highly principled, how do you explain the fact that none of the legislative political parties want to be in coalition with you?

[Vik] I do not think that prerequisites have been created so far for coalition talks, so far ahead of the elections, to uncover the intentions of the political parties. It is important for us that, as distinct from Public Against Violence [VPN], the Confederation of Trade Unions of Slovakia has said clearly that the SDL is being considered as a normal partner for talks and that the trade unions are willing to put forward those representatives of theirs that incline toward the Democratic Left [words indistinct].

[Announcer] What about your views on the federation?

[Vik] From the very beginning, we were for the federation [words indistinct] on the basis of the right of peoples to self-determination. I am very sorry that we have very few allies on the Czech political scene for such an approach toward the joint state.

[Announcer] What is the view of your party on the Slovak home guard?

[Vik] I think that much noise has been made. Maybe that has served someone's personal ambitions, but the proposal mentioned at the Slovak National Council contains no data as to the relation of the home guards to the Army, the police, other security components, who should be in charge of the home guard, and above all, how much it would cost. Only when all these things are on the table can it be discussed openly in the legislature.

Commentary Reports 'Friction' in Slovak Coalition

AU3107144891 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 30 Jul 91 p 3

[Igor Cibula commentary: "Friction in the Government Coalition?"]

[Text] Three months after the Carnogursky cabinet came into power, differences are beginning to crop up among the coalition partners. These differences have also been noticed by the general public. According to a statement made by Slovak Deputy Prime Minister Martin Porubjak, the government is gradually losing its ability to function. This is associated with insufficient coordination among "the coalition parties' views on individual fundamental issues." Jozef Kucerak, chairman of the Public Against Violence [VPN] Movement Slovak Council, touched on this phenomenon more specifically when he said at the movement's Ziar nad Hronom session that "cooperation with our coalition partner the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] is complicated by different views concerning the constitutional and legal arrangement and the approach toward economic transformation." On this occasion, he made clear his disagreement with Jan Carnogursky's view that "economic reform would move forward more quickly in an independent Slovakia." Nor did he make any excuses for saying that "the grit of socialist-style state protectionism and the desire for directives or for departmentalism grinds here and there in the KDH's gears."

The quotations mentioned above testify to the fact that there are several ideological differences between the VPN and KDH that could complicate their continued

presence in the coalition. Although Jozef Kucerak considers them to be "fragmentary problems" in their mutual relations, Martin Porubjak's statement suggests that they could negatively influence the Slovak Government's ability to function. These problems could come to the forefront most topically in connection with the diverse views on the constitutional and legal arrangement for Czech-Slovak relations. This is demonstrated not only by the different versions for the treaty between the Czech and Slovak Republics, but also by the VPN's negative attitude toward the so-called pure Slovak constitution proposed by the KDH.

The Christian Democrats are certainly aware of the fact that the VPN's current position on the domestic political scene does not give this movement a chance to play first fiddle in Slovak politics. In this situation, some KDH representatives act as if their current coalition partner had already been sidelined. Therefore, Jozef Kucerak was absolutely justified when he declared at the last VPN Slovak Council session that "from the KDH we expect more policy oriented toward a democratic and open society based on Christian principles, more active policy in favor of radical reform and not against it, and less shutting ourselves off within our borders, which is typical of the national and socialist movements." However, it is necessary to ask whether there is a willingness to move toward the expectations formulated above if the Christian Democrats' strategic calculations proceed from a different approach toward Slovakia's historic situation than that represented by the current VPN leadership. Perhaps the answer will also depend on what the future coalition partners, with whom the KDH will form a government after the next parliamentary elections, hint to KDH representatives.

'Democratic Platform' Seeks KSCM Transformation

AU3107191791

[Editorial Report] Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech on 29 July on pages 1 and 3 carries a 2,000-word interview with Miroslav Jansta, deputy to the Federal Assembly for the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSCM), by Jiri Leschtina and Tomas Marek entitled "Marxism-Leninism Is Just Fiction." In the interview, the place and date of which are not given, Jansta discusses the ideas of the "Democratic Platform" within the KSCM, of which he is a "representative." On the same day, on page 3, Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech carries a 700-word Jiri Leschtina and Tomas Marek commentary entitled "Left-Wing Intellectuals' Rebellion." The commentary considers the significance of attempts by KSCM members close to Jansta to create a right-wing faction within the party.

The MLADA FRONTA DNES interviewers introduce Jansta, who is 29, as a "representative of the Democratic Platform, whose programmatic goal is to transform the KSCM into a new political party and to follow up on those moments in the history of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] when its members managed to cross narrow class horizons." Asked which moments the Democratic Platform has in mind, Jansta says that he personally sees "three such moments"—the entire period between the party's founding and 1924 when, with the ousting of Bohumir Smeral, the party began the "gradual process of Bolshevization"; the CPCZ's support for the election of Edvard Benes as Czechoslovak president, in defiance of the Komintern's opposition; and the "second phase of the anti-fascist resistance."

Jansta considers the KSCM's attitude to the party's history as a "cardinal issue." In his opinion, it is precisely the party's failure thus far to "come to terms" with the CPCZ's "Bolshevization" in the late twenties and with the role of Klement Gottwald that stands in the way of the party's "change into a democratic left-wing party."

In the interview, Jansta is asked to express his views on some key elements of the communist doctrine. Asked about private ownership, for example, he says that, in his opinion, it should be the "dominant" form of ownership. He points out that, even in Western Europe, nationalization "always led to the bureaucracy's growth and lowered the economy's efficiency." Asked about his attitude toward the government's economic reform scenario, Jansta says that he "supports" all its "basic pillars," such as price liberalization, liberalization of foreign trade, privatization, and the koruna's convertibility. He even calls it "superb" that Czechoslovakia has a "personality of the stature of Minister Klaus." On the other hand, as a member of the opposition, Jansta regards it as his duty to draw attention to the negative aspects of the reform and to rebuke the government for its mistakes.

The interviewers object that what Jansta has outlined is a "noncommunist program," and they wonder how a communist party can subscribe to a noncommunist program. Jansta replies that the KSCM has such a program even now: "The party that calls itself the KSCM has had an absolutely noncommunist program since its Olomouc congress [in October 1990]. The document passed there does not contain a single one of the pillars on which communist parties used to be built, except that it still calls itself communist." Jansta therefore regards a change in the party's name as a "fundamental step"—not because of the party's "external relations" but "to make it clear to party members that the party has made a definitive break with the past." In Jansta's opinion, many KSCM members have not yet realized that "the problems we are solving now are still a consequence of the past development, particularly of the development since 1985 when [after Gorbachev came to power] the geopolitical pressure that had operated here before ceased to exercise its influence."

Asked whether he will establishg his own party if the present KSCM does not accept his ideas, Jansta says: "I do not want to establish any party; the Czech political scene has far too many political parties already. A

modern society needs three, possibly four, legible political parties. The citizen wants to have a clear idea about what and who he is voting for. I believe that we ought to stay with the KSCM until the party congress. At the congress, we will see how successful we will be in persuading—not in prevailing over, but in persuading—the members base."

In conclusion, Jansta reiterates that he has "nothing in common with communism."

Leschtina and Marek open their commentary by saying that one and a half years after the communists lost power in Czechoslovakia, the KSCM is the "strongest communist party in Europe," provided that KSCM Chairman Jiri Svoboda's claim that it has 430,000 members can be trusted. Moreover, the party has "the most disciplined team of deputies in the legislature" and a "perfect information network reaching into districts, the apparatuses of political parties, ministries, and individual enterprises." According to the authors, this situation is "somewhat reminiscent of the period before the 1946 elections."

In view of the above facts, Leschtina and Marek describe the attempts to form a right-wing faction within the KSCM as "encouraging." If the men around Jansta succeeded in transforming the communist party in the direction of "non-doctrinaire and almost social democratic values," the MLADA FRONTA DNES commentators say, "they would help create a pro-regime left that would not send a shiver down your spine every time you heard its name."

In the authors' opinion, Jansta's attempt to impose his beliefs on the KSCM can have only two possible outcomes: "Either Miroslav Jansta and his faction, which is reportedly supported by 15 to 20 percent of the members base, will break away from the mother party, or the wily apparatchiks will use the reform-minded rebels to have them polish, at least a little bit, the shingle with the KSCM's name. Once again, young intellectuals would thus be used by the Party to give it at least a semblance of credibility."

ASD Chairman Outlines Movement's Differences

AU0208103991 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 31 Jul 91 p 6

[Interview with Rudolf Battek, chairman of the Association of Social Democrats, by Drahuse Probostova; place and date not given: "Why Two Social Democratic Movements?"]

[Text] The Association of Social Democrats [ASD] was founded in the Czech Republic at the end of May. A great deal has already been written about its disputes with the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party [CSSD]. Is it really necessary to shatter the social democratic movement's unity? Are the mutual disputes really insurmountable? We turned to ASD Chairman Rudolf Battek with these questions:

[Battek] Our Association was established from a group that, in fact, existed prior to November 1989 within the framework of the Movement for Civil Liberty [HOS]. Its manifesto, "Democracy for All," was published in the fall of 1988. All those who in 1978 founded the group of independent socialists—on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the founding of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Workers' Party—operated within the HOS. After the November revolution, we were aware of the fact that this was not the time for narrow party orientations. We were not against the founding of a social democratic movement, but we wanted to make sure that such a step was taken in close cooperation with the broad democratic trend represented by the Civic Forum. We could not agree on this issue with the people who had already begun renewing the Social Democratic Party. An absolutely fundamental dispute arose from the fact that the Communist Party had endeavored to take over the Social Democratic Party with its own people. Incidentally, it had already attempted to forge links with the social democrats before November. In fact, it managed—to a certain extent—to isolate the incipient CSSD from the Civic Forum. The difference was in attitudes toward the government coalition. In principle—apart from certain criticism of some issues—we were on the government's side and we still are, despite the fact that right-wing politicians of the Klaus-type figure in it. On the contrary, the CSSD has come up with a demagogic slogan to abolish the Communist Party. It figures in the so-called extra-legislative group and is willing to look for a coalition partner wherever—by doing so—it thinks it will expand its membership base. Its associations with Mr. Trnka's Agrarian Party, with people such as Mr. Cuba, and—especially—with Obroda [Revival] are unacceptable to us.

These are the reasons why there are now two social democratic movements. The Association intends to link decent people across parties and to implement a certain moral bond among democrats. A "party-like" method of behavior is unacceptable to us. We consider ideological tolerance and dialogue within the party to be absolutely necessary, and because of this, we do not arrive at unfriendly points of view. We also differ in having free association without any kind of "party discipline." For example, apart from normal membership, we have associate membership and independent membership. Our general program is roughly the same; as a matter of fact, the situation is the same in all the parties. We all want democracy and a market economy. Therefore, the parties' current political activity, in fact, consists of different approaches toward resolving the specific problems facing society.

[Probostova] It is said that your Association is fundamentally opposed to cooperation with communists and ex-communists. At the same time, however, there are a few communists among its ranks.

[Battek] We are not motivated by any futile anticommunism; we regard ex-communists individually. If someone was in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [KSC] for a

long or a short time, we cannot politically disqualify him for the rest of his life. The reliability of his political change is most important to us and, of course, he must prove by his conduct that he is a social democrat. This takes time. We think—at least during the current stage of our development—that people who were not members of the Communist Party should occupy leading positions in the social democratic movement at higher and lower levels. Our ex-communists understand this point of view and are not attempting to obtain any posts. They cooperate normally and they feel accepted because they can influence our conduct, but they cannot represent us on the outside. In comparison with this, it is quite comical that when Mr. Wagner transferred from Obroda to the CSSD, they immediately made him their general secretary.

Still on the subject of ex-communists, we distinguish between those who were expelled from the KSC after 1968 and have not been communists for 22 years and those who quietly found a place in the official structures during normalization and were in no way politically active. The former communists who operated under the totalitarian regime in the opposition and in dissident groups have quite clearly demonstrated their reliability; there is no need at all to hesitate about them. Understandably, the moral and political reliability of people who were communists until November 1989 and then left the party is very moderate. However, we have to give them time to show that they have changed their political points of view. However, they cannot represent the social democrats. Social democracy must be made up of social democrats.

Smallholders Reportedly Name Shadow Cabinet

LD0108105991 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0500 GMT 1 Aug 91

[Text] KURIR and UJ MAGYARORSZAG have made public the possible shadow government of the Independent Smallholders' Party.

According to the newspapers, which carry reports from MTI, the nominees for interior minister of the shadow government, which was promised earlier by party President Jozsef Torgyan, are Sandor Cseh, Janos Szabo, and Tibor Hornyak. The nominees for foreign minister are Emese Ugrin, who recently transferred from the Christian Democratic People's Party, and Rezsoe Banyasz, who was spokesman for the Grosz government.

There are three people who might occupy the post of agriculture minister: Jenoe Gerbovics, (Geza Gyimoczy), and the name of Sandor Cseh has again appeared. The nominees for defense minister are Pal Dragon and Gyoergy Balogh. The Minister of Justice would be headed by either Arpad Gyoergyi, the party's current chief prosecutor, or (Geza Goergey).

MTI names one nominee for minister of transport: Bela Nemeth. Sandor Kavassy or (Ferenc Virag) would be responsible for the Ministry of Culture. The possible successor to the minister for international economic relations is the large-scale entrepreneur Andras Kocsis, who is economic adviser to party president Jozsef Torgyan. The Ministry of Industry would be taken by Laszlo Kapolyi, who already held this position once. By the way, the designate prime minister for this shadow cabinet is unknown.

Torgyan Denies Report

LD0108111691 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0500 GMT 1 Aug 91

[Interview with Independent Smallholders' Party President Jozsef Torgyan by unidentified reporter; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] We have managed to contact Independent Smallholders' Party President Jozsef Torgyan. Good morning!

[Torgyan] Good morning!

[Reporter] It does not emerge from the MTI report who is the prime minister of the smallholders shadow cabinet. Is it you?

[Torgyan] I have just listened to the radio with astonishment, at the depths to which the media, both the electronic and written media, in our country have sunk. This report that you have let fly is the ugliest hoax that could have been let loose in recent times.

[Reporter] So you unequivocally deny this information?

[Torgyan] Please, even the opposite of this is not true, it is so untrue. Nothing of the entire report is true. It has not occurred to us to form a shadow government, and believe me, if we were to form a shadow government sometime before the next legislative elections, we would not report this to the press. Thus, this is complete nonsense.

[Reporter] Could it not be supposed that perhaps this might be a misunderstanding, like when you said in the past that what was at issue was the establishment of a body of experts instead of a shadow government?

[Torgyan] Please, it is not true even as a body of experts. Names were mentioned here that appear entirely as nonsense. Excuse me, I, for example, am not even acquainted with Mr. Kapolyi.

[Reporter] I was surprised at that, since to my best knowledge, Mr. Kapolyi holds a position in the Social Democratic Party.

[Torgyan] I do not know; perhaps he holds a position there. I am not dealing with this issue. This was an entirely untrue report regarding the names, too. Allow me to say that in the case of some names, I would consider what you just announced on the radio as inconceivable.

[Reporter] More precisely, we reported the MTI report that, by the way, was carried by this morning's KURIR [word indistinct] and UJ MAGYARORSZAG. Mr. Torgyan, I thank you very much for placing yourself at our disposal.

Minority Party Views on Nationality Law Reported

Slovak, Croatian Leaders Comment

LD0108174291 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0300 GMT 31 Jul 91

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The nationality law is being prepared with the involvement of those concerned. In connection with this, how do the nationalities in Hungary view their situation? In this compilation by (Zsofia Vajai) and Viola Takacs, you will now hear (Anna Gyivicsan), vice president of the Slovaks in Hungary:

[(Gyivicsan)] The most important thing is to remain; it is necessary to preserve the language; it is necessary to preserve the culture. The nationality issue is not just language, not just culture; it is also an economic, and to a major extent, a political issue.

It should be not only the government that ensures the funds so that a nationality exists administratively, culturally, but a law should be enacted so that a nationality starts to become independent economically, too, where this is possible. And this, naturally, pertains to self-administration, because there exists a self-government that, let us say, is Hungarian; within it there is a

nationality spokesman, yet it emerges that it is a nationality settlement where 70 to 80 percent of the population are Slovak. Why can't it be the inverse, that there is a self-government, that is a nationality one, and since there is also a Hungarian population there, this Hungarian population should have a spokesman? This would be natural, but this unfortunately is not sensed either by our Slovakdom, or by the majority.

[Announcer] (Mihaly Karavics) is the secretary of the Federation of Croats in Hungary:

[(Karavics)] The Croats in Hungary expect much from the nationality law. We expect legislative representation; we expect a transformation of the Croatian elementary school system. In 1960 and 1961, through administrative measures, the elementary schools teaching in Croatian ceased to exist. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Are there any other problems that await a solution?

[(Karavics)] Approximately 90,000 Croats in Hungary live in some 70 to 80 settlements. There are very few church services in the Croatian mother tongue at these settlements. There are no priests. In the elementary schools, there is a lack of teachers with several areas of specialization, and we cannot overcome this on our own. For this, we need the help of Hungarian society and also the help of the mother nation.

Serbian, Romanian Leaders View Situation

LD0108174891 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0400 GMT 31 Jul 91

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The nationality law is being prepared with the involvement of those concerned. In the light of this, how do the nationalities in Hungary view their situation? [passage omitted] The Serbs and the Romanians will now expound their positions. In this compilation by (Zsofia Vajai) and Viola Takacs, you will first hear (Peter Vlaszik), vice president of the Serbs' Democratic Federation:

[(Vlaszik)] If we examine the conditions that ensure the survival of the Serbian minority and the institutional network we have, our situation is similar to that of the other minorities in Hungary, and it is very bad. In addition to there being no institutional network, we do not, at the moment, see what kind of financial backing it will have.

We are endeavoring to create our own cultural and educational network of institutions, under our own direction. In our view, the minority law must guarantee legal frameworks and guarantees.

Regarding financial conditions, this is relatively simple in our case, since we had such an institutional network; it was taken away from us during the nationalizations. It would be relatively simple to resolve our problem, if we were to get some major premises.

[Announcer] With what other problems do you contend?

[(Vlaszik)] We receive very many indications from the Serbs living in Hungary that we feel that the judgment of Yugoslav events in the press, primarily on the part of certain journalists, is biased, and the Serbian nationality population experiences this as [word indistinct] pressure. If we open the Hungarian papers, we draw the conclusion that the Serbs are automatically Chetniks. These are large prejudices.

[Announcer] We contacted (Gyorgy Petrosan), president of the Federation of Romanians in Hungary, by telephone:

[(Petrosan)] The main problem for the Romanians at present is that there is not yet a self-aware intelligentsia that could create the conditions necessary for the preservation of identity and also prevent the large-scale alienation from the language and traditions, a move that almost objectively leads to assimilation. The new federation endeavors to make it possible to slow down this process.

[Announcer] What do you expect from the new nationality law?

[(Petrosan)] The nationalities in Hungary could be saved only with a policy of so-called positive discrimination. The political, economic, and social system of conditions would have to be greatly improved in order for this law to fulfill the hopes attached to it.

German Leader, Government Official Comment

LD0108180791 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0500 GMT 31 Jul 91

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The nationality law is being prepared, with the involvement of those affected. In the light of this, how do the nationalities in Hungary view their situation? [passage omitted] You now will hear Karoly Manhercz, vice president of the Federation of Germans. The interviewer is (Zsofia Vajai):

[(Vajai)]) Are the Germans in Hungary satisfied with their situation?

[Manhercz] They are satisfied, inasmuch as since 1987, the Germans in Hungary can reckon with considerable FRG support, in the framework of a special agreement to the tune of 2 million German marks annually. I am not satisfied because the school system is not as it could be. The most important issue is that of fostering the mother tongue, only this is terribly complex in the case of the Germans, since the mother tongue is, in truth, the mother dialect. The mother dialect is disappearing completely, not because the policy of the Hungarian governments might perhaps have intentionally assimilated the Germans in Hungary, but because the dialects are being relegated to the background.

In my view, an even greater problem is to what extent do the Germans want to learn their mother tongue? Perhaps, I could say they are in a fortunate situation, since their literary language is a European language of communication. So there is a motivating force. The nearest three countries [as heard] are German-speaking.

It is very important that at the Pecs Janus Pannonius University of Sciences, the well-functioning college department for teachers' training—whose profile was primarily to train teachers for minority, nationality areas—should not be allowed to be diverted from its original function simply because it is becoming a university.

[Announcer] At the end of our compilation, you will now hear (Janos Bathory), vice chairman of the Office for National and Ethnic Minorities:

[(Bathory)] This law intends to guarantee extensive rights for the minorities' legitimate interest-representation organizations. An elections system must be worked out for them that makes it unquestionable that they legally possess a public authority status. What this brings in tow is that a census must somehow be taken of the people who declare themselves as belonging to a minority. However, the minority organizations oppose this. If they are averse to this, however, it will be impossible to draw up an election system that will lead to the creation of an organization enjoying strong legitimacy.

[(Vajai)] What is the solution?

[(Bathory)] The solution is that the minorities' law should offer several alternatives to the interest representation organizations. It should provide an opportunity so that those who subject themselves to a record-keeping process that naturally guarantees minorities' security and confidentiality of the data, should then be able to form their self-governments possessing licences of public authorities. Those who do not want this should also be guaranteed extensive rights.

[(Vajai)] What must the law definitely deal with in addition to this?

[(Bathory)] More funding obligations fall on the state than in the states of Western Europe.

[(Vajai)] What is the relationship like between government and the minorities?

[(Bathory)] It is more fraught with conflict than in past decades. This relationship will settle over a few years, and the interest representations as well as state administration will learn what their spheres are.

Bielecki: Economic Reform 'Troublesome Necessity'

LD0108135191 Warsaw PAP in English 1550 GMT 31 Jul 91

[Text] Starachowice, July 31—Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki told a seminar in Starachowice, southeastern Poland, on Wednesday that the economic reform was a troublesome necessity but "we must make it if we do not want to pretend that we do not see the reality."

Addressing the conference held under the motto "In solidarity against unemployment" Bielecki opined that (the reform) serves to build a sound state based on democracy and market economy. According to the prime minister, the nation refuses to accept the fact that there is no other but the restructuring of the state.

He stressed the restructuring is linked with rational employment, and that makes people feel threatened and alarmed. "We hear voices that the foreign capital will buy us up, that we sell valuable property for peanuts. But we must decide whether we want foreign capital or not." According to Bielecki, it is unacceptable for the state treasury to subsidize factories worth many million zlotys.

Solidarity Symposium Discusses Unemployment

LD0108132191 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1730 GMT 31 Jul 91

[Excerpts] Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity expects action and will focus on regions where unemployment is a particular threat, instead of constantly holding talks and playing for time. Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity states that it does not receive any kind of cooperation whatever from ministers for its activities. These are the positions of those taking part in the symposium, Solidarity in Face of Unemployment, which has ended in Starachowice. It was attended by Solidarity representatives from more than 20 regions where the threat of unemployment is greatest, Job Center employees, and Jan Krzysztof Bielecki and Michal Boni, minister of labor and social policy.

It was no coincidence that the symposium was held in Starachowice. The town is one of those hardest hit by unemployment: there are more than 7,500 officially unemployed. The problems here are typical of towns linked with one factory. Out of 60,000 inhabitants, 9,000 are employed at the truck plant. Every family is connected with the plant in some way. The enterprise is collapsing: from January of last year until today, 35 percent of the workforce has been sacked. It is the government's intention to help in just such places, Minister Michal Boni said today. [passage omitted]

[Begin Bielecki recording] Until now, there was hidden unemployment. The maximum number of people were packed, pushed into the factories, and an attempt was made to share the poverty somehow. When that was not enough, then a few empty, or false, banknotes were given out and the thing kept going somehow.

We want an enterprise to be competitive. It is this which makes it essential to reorganize that enterprise from a communist one to an economic one, which operates on the basis of the market in order to sell its product. [end recording]

Walesa Adviser Najder on Threat to Reform

AU0108105191 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 26 Jul 91 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Zdzislaw Najder, chairman of the National Citizens Committee and adviser to President Walesa, by Przemyslaw Maksymiuk, place and date not given: "We Fought For More"]

[Text] [Maksymiuk] Many politicians claim that the Polish reforms have reached their most difficult moment. Please tell us where the danger is coming from.

[Najder] The reforms in Poland are being threatened from two quarters, which can be described separately, but which nevertheless coincide at some point. First of all, Polish state institutions are only partly in the hands of independent and pro-reformist forces. In many cases control by these forces is insignificant. We did assume responsibility for the state in accordance with Jan Olszewski's formula, but we never assumed responsibility for its institutions. That applies to the Army, Interior Ministry, and a major part of the state administration. In all these spheres we are faced with the following situation—on the one hand, the independent policy which we should pursue has never been completely determined, and on the other hand the postcommunist league is still clinging to its positions, and even launching a counteroffensive. Secondly, the reforms are in danger, which is easily noticeable by the way in which society is becoming increasingly dissatisfied with what is happening in the economy and state administration. Society is becoming increasingly impatient, and not because Lech Walesa, the Center Accord, or other political forces are inciting people to rise, but because there is a deep recession and a collapse of the standard of living. People feel more and more threatened by the future, manifested in the form of unemployment, a collapse of social security benefits, or even a lack of prospects for agriculture. Because of all this, support for the reforms is falling continuously. Eventually this might reach a critical point and turn into a general strike or such a level of apathy that people will stop taking part in public life.

[Maksymiuk] People say that if the "breakthrough government" formula had been implemented earlier, we would not be in such a difficult situation today. Do you agree?

[Najder] Yes. I think we have wasted a great deal of time during the ten months between one election and the

other. Nevertheless, Jan Krzysztof Bielecki's government has scored successes in some spheres. An acceleration is even taking place now; for example, we finally have a law on taxes. But that opinion from me can be considered biased because I was supposed to be part of this "breakthrough government." All the same, I am certain of what I am saying, and I also believe it is a very bad thing that we did not hold the parliamentary elections at the beginning of the year, or May at the very latest. It would have been more comprehensible to society to have held them at the beginning of the year, and we would not have had to worry so much about forming a clear, determined representation of independent pro-reformist forces in the next Sejm.

[Maksymiuk] What kind of election program are the independent pro-reformist forces gathered in the nascent citizens election accord going to have?

[Najder] The only programmatic proposal so far has been the Draft Framework Election Program, which I have developed together with Jan Olszewski and Wojciech Wlodarczyk. In this document, the first thing we say is that most of society is disappointed with what has happened during the past two years, because we fought for more and expected more. Due to so-called objective circumstances, but actually due to errors committed by successive leaderships and an inability to produce a legal framework for the economic reforms, the results are disappointing. The next thing we say is that unless we want the reform to the socioeconomic system to be carried out under police or economic pressure, this reform must be furnished with a clear and equitable legal framework. The third thing we say is that the state cannot abandon overnight the duties it assumed under the previous system, i.e. the provision of health care, pensions, and other benefits. The state cannot abandon responsibility for the entire economic sector. Right now the state is merely reaping dividends from this sector and drawing tax from it. It is not pursuing any industrial policy. Eighty-five percent of the economy is in the throes of market forces. These forces will smooth everything out in the end and tidy things up, but the losses will be enormous, and this entire process will take a long time. State interventionism is needed here. The same applies to agricultural policy. Changes to the structure of agriculture should not be forced upon farmers by taking them to the brink of poverty.

The settlement of scores with the past is another topic in this program, the kind of political settlement that will really lead us to an independent Poland. We must have a genuinely sovereign Sejm and government, and a state apparatus that is devoid of communist connections. This requires a firm settling of scores with the past, not on the basis of collective responsibility, but on the basis of individual responsibility. The program's general slogan is: Let us tidy up our state. It is supposed to be an independent, law-governed Third Republic.

I will add something that is not in the program. I would very much like Poland to be a country that arouses the respect of its citizens. I was born and bred in the Second Republic. For me, the German occupation was an extension of this republic, for I went to school at the time, and belonged to the underground. That republic had very many faults, but it created spontaneous respect because it implemented the principle of complete independence, because the factors and commodities that belonged to the state were the best and most modern of all the things the average citizen encountered in his daily life. I need not tell you what the situation is like now.

[Maksymiuk] We want an efficient and respectable state, but suggestions on how to strengthen executive authority are viewed as an attempt to introduce a dictatorship. Adam Michnik has already likened President Walesa to Mussolini.

[Najder] I have been hearing this accusation ever since the middle of last year. Later it turned out that the president was too soft, and not too hard. Then we heard praises that he was so open. I think it has already been proved that the president has no dictatorial tendency. His very firm manner of speaking out on various subjects, which unfortunately is not always accompanied by firm actions, is being taken advantage of in order to present him as an autocrat. I think this is a deliberate attempt to make society think that Lech Walesa's conduct, a normal way of telling the electorate that something needs to be done, is really an attempt to gain total control. I do not see any such ambition in Lech Walesa.

However, Poland needs a strong executive for the clear and simple reason that we are carrying out a very thorough political change. We are doing so without the use of force, and encountering enormous opposition from the old structures. They are very well organized and have a great deal of money at their disposal. If we want to change the political system, we must be able to carry out the changes we propose. We felt the political changes in the late 1940's next to our own skin, because they were carried out by force. Nevertheless society did put up strong opposition. That change in system was carried out by a very strong executive. If we now want to tidy everything up, and the people who ruled us then are still with us and interfering, then it is obvious we must have a strong executive.

Nowhere in the world has this type of change been carried out without a strong executive. For example, the political changes in Germany after World War II were supervised by the occupying powers. This was a democratic restructuring. A similar fundamental change, but on a smaller scale, was carried out in France when President de Gaulle took executive power into his hands. We have a similar task to perform, and on a similar scale. This is not a question of abandoning justice, it is a question of being able to implement justified and socially-approved decisions. Decisions like this are being made these days, but they evaporate later. Just take a look at the nonexistent tax system and non-functioning customs system. Take a look at the complete mess in the sphere of investments for production.

[Maksymiuk] Is it possible to dispense with the previous system if we are adhering closely to that system's legislation?

[Najder] The term "law-governed state" has been abused in the past, because the legislation was drafted in order to keep society in subjugation. It was drafted in such a way as to make it easy for the communists to rule. Within the framework of this legislation we are now creating a different system. The faster we alter the law, and thoroughly, the better it will be. So far we have changed a few provisions, e.g. we have introduced the principle of impartiality of the courts and prosecutor's office, but we have not removed the old people.

Let me recall that in 1918, the Second republic was built from the very foundations. There were decrees issued by the head of state. These decrees introduced neither terror nor subjugation. On the contrary, they introduced elements of social justice and were welcomed by society. Changes were implemented quickly then.

[Maksymiuk] In your political activity one notices a constant aim to clarify political set-ups in Poland as much as possible, but despite all your intentions these set-ups are becoming increasingly hazy. Who actually belongs to the opposition? Whose program is the government implementing?

[Najder] I do not know.

[Maksymiuk] But is there a chance of creating tangible relationships between the authorities and the citizens?

[Najder] I think there would have been such a chance if we had gone to the polls six months ago. Ten minutes after I crossed the Polish border in February 1990, a journalist asked me what I thought of the Polish situation, and I replied that free elections should be held as soon as possible. That would have created such tangible relationships. But what has actually happened over the past 18 months, culminating in the present election code, is designed to create maximum confusion. Therefore this is a challenge to all those who realize this state of affairs. The autumn elections are still before us.

I think the reason for this present confusion is the great political elite crisis. In the new democratic situation, the politicians are completely lost. This is an intellectual leadership crisis. Society's approval has to be won every day. It is not enough to say that as an intellectual, it is one's duty to represent society. If society has finally won the right to speak with its own voice, that is exactly what it wants to do, and not listen to someone else's teachings. It is disastrous that the people who were supposed to build democracy from the foundations became upset and departed when they were no longer able to decide about everything. This is unheard-of in the western democracies. Presidential elections have shown that if one turns away from the majority, one loses.

Deputy Defense Minister on National Security

AU3007142191 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 25 Jul 91 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Deputy Defense Minister Janusz Onyszkiewicz by Andrzej Medykowski; place and date not given: "Emerging From the 'Gray Zone'"]

[Text] [Medykowski] Because of the collapse of the Warsaw Pact and disintegration of Central and Eastern Europe, Poland has found itself among a group of countries with diminished security, sometimes referred to as the "gray zone." It seems natural to seek guarantees of security, which includes efforts to include Poland in some system of collective security. Some politicians claim NATO is the only guarantee of our security.

[Onyszkiewicz] Poland has not declared and is not declaring its intention of joining NATO and its military structures, and not because our application to join might be refused, but because we fear that a bipolar military security system might be revived, resulting in a new division of the continent. The positive processes so far could be spoiled, to everyone's disadvantage, and the situation of Poland as a country on the "front line" could become exceptionally unfavorable.

That does not mean, however, that the search for the best solution should be postponed. I should also make it clear that we are very strongly against the idea of locating Poland in some kind of "gray zone." This does not conform to the fundamental principle of having equal security for all countries and treating the whole of Europe as a single security zone. If we agreed to our country being considered a "gray zone," it would also mean we agree to Poland's becoming the scene of sharp competition between other states, which would be detrimental to our domestic situation.

And one more thing. The collapse of the Warsaw Pact does not mean a reduction in our security at all. One should remember that membership of the pact might have drawn us into a major war, and this war would not have been in defense of our vital interests. [passage omitted]

[Medykowski] The interministerial committee for reform to national defense has completed its work and produced a concept for a civilian defense ministry and a new pattern of the armed forces. The National Defense Committee and Council of Ministers have given the go-ahead for the reform to the Defense Ministry to begin. How are you going to implement these reforms within the limits of your responsibilities? Is any unconventional personnel activity envisaged, for example competition for selected posts?

[Onyszkiewicz] Any changes to the Army, which is an exceedingly complicated organism, should be very carefully premeditated and implemented with caution, in case in our intention of making good the things that are bad, we accidentally destroy the things that are already

good. Therefore my intention has been to use existing Army structures. For example, we have a Military Foreign Affairs Administration, which could be completely incorporated into other structures. Following minor modifications, other structures could also be incorporated in the new Defense Ministry, for instance the offices that handle the Ministry's legal matters.

The appointment of a civilian defense minister will be an event of enormous importance. It will be almost a revolution. Nevertheless one must try to preserve continuity; there must be a smooth conversion from the present structures to the new ones. One cannot imagine any other situation. But that does not mean there cannot be any changes to the structures. There can, and in many cases these changes should be far-reaching. I do not think it would be a good idea to abolish in our zeal various bodies that have done a good job and create new ones from scratch.

These bodies should have more civilian employees, which does not mean that they should be dominated by civilians, for there are not enough civilians with sufficient knowledge of the Army and military matters. Although the very adjective used to describe the new defense structures, "civilian-military," suggests that civilians will predominate, there are some posts which have to be reserved for military men because they require a certain level of expertise, and in fact one should expect military men to predominate for the time being. Nevertheless the proportion of military men to civilians will change as more and more civilians are trained for work connected with defense.

Senate Passes State Treasury Firm Interest Law

LD0208032991 Warsaw PAP in English 2055 GMT 1 Aug 91

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 1—The Senate at its meting here Thursday approved the law on the interest on capital in state treasury owned companies. It also decided not to introduce any reservations to the recent amendments to the law on state enterprises and their financial management. Also Thursday, the Senate approved amendments to the law on return of assets gained groundlessly at the expense of the state treasury or other state legal entities.

Sejm Discusses Economic Situation, Foreign Debt

AU3107100291 Warsaw PAP in English 1834 GMT 27 Jul 91

[Text] Warsaw, July 27—On the third and final day of its meeting the Polish Sejm (lower house) examined on Saturday the economic situation of the country and urged the government to stimulate investment. The house also got acquainted with a report on outlooks for further debt reductions by Poland's western creditors.

The chamber adopted a resolution listing the main achievements of the government's economic policy and the most serious threats, errors and failures in the context of the deteriorating economic situation.

The resolution stressed that the government's economic policy should make it its priority aim to fight recession and prevent the collapse of the state budget. More efficient measures are also necessary to reduce unemployment.

The chamber urged the government to base the sales of state assets on clear financial principles so as to prevent fraud. It welcomed the government's decision to develop a more active microeconomic policy and a strict privatisation programme. Measures counteracting recession should be supported by a flexible policy on import quotas and tariffs.

Deputy Ryszard Bugaj of the Solidarity of Labour called on the government to prepare a programme of macroeconomic policy and an emergency programme to counteract what he termed "a disastrous situation economy."

"If the economic situation continues to look like it is since the beginning of the current year, it will be almost impossible to preserve political stability in the country," he warned.

Deputy Prime Minister Leszek Balcerowicz expressed hope that the situation in Poland will make it possible to continue difficult but indispensable negotiations with the London Club representing commercial banks on a reduction of the Polish debt.

Speaking of the agreement with the Paris Club, Balcerowicz said: "If both stages of the reduction of the Polish official debt to foreign governments are implemented in line with the agreement signed with the Paris Club last April, then by April 1994 Poland's foreign debt will amount to about 25 billion dollars with interest on it by half smaller than it would be without that agreement," Balcerowicz told the chamber.

The framework agreement with the Paris Club must be supplemented by agreements signed with individual creditor countries. So far Poland has concluded such agreements with the U.S. and Austria, and the remaining ones are expected to be signed by next October or the end of this year at the latest.

Balcerowicz said the Polish side will insist that the terms of a future agreement with the London Club be similar to those of the Paris agreement.

Due to the departure of Premier Jan Krzysztof Bielecki to a Pentagonale meeting in Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia, the house did not get the answer to a question what the prime minister had in mind saying that the situation in the insolvent Ursus tractor works outside Warsaw was an act of sabotage. The explanation will expectedly be given during the next, four-day meeting of the Sejm scheduled for August 21-24.

Also on Saturday, the Sejm Committee for Constitutional Responsibility decided not to bring to justice

former Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski and former Deputy Premier Kazimierz Olesiak who, by letting some state enterprises be transformed into companies, were supposed to have caused considerable economic losses.

Tanski Seeks 'Understanding' on New Tariff Rates

LD0208025991 Warsaw PAP in English 1404 GMT 1 Aug 91

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 1—The higher import duty rates introduced in Poland as from August 1, are closing the campaign to protect the home agricultural market against the inflow of foodstuffs from other countries, Polish Farming Minister Adam Tanski said here Thursday. Tariff rates on imports of foodstaffs and farm produce are growing by 30-35 percent starting Friday, as against the previous 20-percent average rate. Tanski expressed hope that the higher tariff rates will not provoke any reaction on the part of the European Communities (EC) and will be received with understanding by Poland's foreign partners. The minister told newsmen that the new tariffs will serve as an instrument of the state's economic policy aimed to protect both the Polish farmers and consumers. The new tariffs should not bring about a price rise on the Polish consumer market. The price the Polish consumers would have to pay would be much higher if Polish farmers lost their means of subsistence.

Janowski Writes Walesa on Agricultural Concerns

LD0208032691 Warsaw PAP in English 2010 GMT 1 Aug 91

[Text] Warsaw, August 1—Head of the Solidarity Union of Private Farmers Gabriel Janowski wrote in an open letter to President Walesa that "there is a very pressing need to consider together the issues of agriculture". Janowski also voiced dissatisfaction with the president's failure to reply to an earlier proposal of a meeting with the presidium of the trade union. "If our proposals of a sensible state intervention in economic matters had been accepted in the right time, there would not have been the present economic collapse", wrote Janowski. He also stated that his union, accepting joint responsibility for Poland, has been and still is ready for loyal cooperation in building economic and political order in our homeland.

Task Force Sets Ursus Restructuring Timetable

LD0208030891 Warsaw PAP in English 1555 GMT 1 Aug 91

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 1—A timetable of actions designed to restructure the former tractor manufacturing group, including the Ursus tractor factory outside Warsaw, was set here on Friday by a special task team named by the newly appointed government's plenipotentiary for the Ministry of Industry and Trade Henryka Bochniarz. The restructuring programme will cover all factories affiliated in the now dissolved Ursus group throughout Poland. It provides for adjustment of production assets of each enterprise to the scope of demand, rationalization of production and narrowing of the patterns of production, and cuts in workforce. The programme also envisages new organizational and ownership structure to be prepared soon for companies with foreign capital. Meanwhile, some 12,000 workers of the Ursus tractor factory alone will go on forced leave starting August 5, to last till September. By 15 August workers of all insolvent factories of the former Ursus group will get overdue pays for last June and July.

Democratic Union Council Looks Toward Elections

AU3107184891 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 29 Jul 91 p 2

[Ewa Szemplinska report: "An Offensive Without Aggression]

[Text] The 27 July meeting of the Council of the Democratic Union in Warsaw is being treated as the Union's first national convention. An election committee was appointed, and resolutions were adopted, including one on regional cooperation, whereby the Union's field committees may support Senate candidates nominated by "other responsible pro-reformist political groups."

At a news conference, Chairman Tadeusz Mazowiecki said: "We attribute great importance to the forthcoming elections not only because we are striving for a significant position in parliament, but also because we are concerned about the situation in Poland. From the way the situation is developing, one can see two possible scenarios, either progressing instability and eventual anarchy, or liberty. We are in favor of liberty and democracy, of a path that does not lead the country to misfortune."

Answering questions, Mazowiecki said: "The Union is not opposed to the president, but it expects him to be above divisions and respect our party as well. For its part, the Union has twice requested talks with the president, but he has not had any time.

"People accuse the Union of being soft and defensive. That is not true. We will define our stance clearly and unequivocally on all major national issues, but we do not want the country to become enmeshed in quarrels, especially because these quarrels are taking place between people who all stem from the same 'Solidarity' family. These spiteful and irresponsible quarrels are harming all of us, because we all stem from 'Solidarity,' whether we are allies or opponents. I also want to make it clear that it is those activists who refer to Christian ethics and whose parties follow these ethics that are responsible for the moral climate of the elections."

The problem of how to attract the voters to democracy and a market economy was a major topic during the meeting. Dr. Marek Edelman said: "The capitalist system is very difficult to accept for people brought up on the idea that the state should help everyone to an equal degree, because money is considered synonymous with theft or privilege. Bankrupt farmers and enterprises are all expecting financial

help; as for the farmers, instead of farming, they are interested in selling poor milk at high prices. One the one hand, we must overcome the mentality whereby people expect everything, and on the other hand we must help people during this difficult transitional period so that they feel there is at least a minimum level of guarantees to safeguard their future."

Jacek Kuron spoke about election tactics. "It would not be safe not to distinguish between fellow competitors and adversaries, especially now that the Center Accord is forming an election coalition. Nor would it be wise to wage a militant personal campaign. Our campaign must be positive, i.e. it must present a program that encourages people's support. Criticism should be directed not at people, but at wrongdoing. If we identify our opponents exactly, we are striking against the post-Solidarity forces and destroying all authority. One cannot fight anarchy by sowing anarchy oneself."

Economy To Benefit From EC Commission Funds

LD0208030291 Warsaw PAP in English 1523 GMT 1 Aug 91

[Text] Brussels, Aug. 1—The Commission of the European Communities (EC) earmarked 116.5 million ECU (European Currency Unit), or some 140 million dollars, to finance five programmes of aid to Poland. Of that sum, 50 million ECU will be destined for restructuring, privatizing and de-monopolizing the Polish economy, 30 million ECU will go for environment protection, while the Polish countryside and agriculture will get 17 million. Another 16 million ECU is designed to stimulate reforms in the Polish financial sector and 3.5 million ECU will help build local structures of government. The EC Commission also earmarked 13 milion ECU for a regional programme of scientific exchange between universities and 5 million ECU for the regional programme of cooperation of customs services. Both these programmes cover also Poland. All in all, the EC Commission accepted on Thursday 22 programmes of aid to five East European countries (Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and Romania) totalling 339 million ECU.

Illegal Border Crossings Increase 774 Percent

LD0108223191 Warsaw PAP in English 1230 GMT 01 Aug 91

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 1—3,409 people from 39 countries were detained when trying to illegally cross the Polish western border in the first half of 1991, a 774-per cent rise as compared with the same period last year, press spokesman for the Border Guards headquarters Captain Jaroslaw Zukowicz said Thursday.

The detainees included: 1,679 citizens of Romania, 407—Bulgaria, 206—Czecho-Slovakia, 90—Germany, 62—Albania, 46—the USSR, 38—Ghana, 39—Lebanon and Liberia, 28—Turkey and 26 citizens of Mongolia.

A total of 4,406 people were detained on all Polish borders when attempting to illegally cross them in the first half of 1991, 217 per cent more than in the same period of last year.

Reportage on Skubiszewski's Visit to Argentina

PY0108182591

For reportage on the visit by Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski to Argentina, including reports on his talks with President Carlos Menem, please see the Argentina section of the 1 August Latin America DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

FSN Vice President Moldovan Interviewed

AU0108103791 Bucharest AZI in Romanian 26 Jul 91 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Ioan Moldovan, vice president of the National Salvation Front, by Corina Cretu; place and date not given: "The Social Policy Will Change"—first paragraph is AZI introduction]

[Text] To say that the great majority of the workers supported the National Salvation Front [FSN] in the 20 May election is true. Facts speak for themselves: Those who always had to carry the burden on their shoulders, those with well-worn hands and overwhelmed by concerns and worries realized that, through its representatives, the Front is their ally. Maybe the National Salvation Front was not always at its best and in one way or another disappointed those who pinned all their hopes on this party. However, with the passing of time, it became very clear that it is not easy and that nothing is achieved free of charge—well-being requires both hard work and especially honesty—and that there have been and—for sure—will continue to be obstacles, which will be more difficult to overcome than we initially imagined. Anyhow, the Front has not forgotten the people as a result of whom it, in fact, exists. That this is so is demonstrated by the following interview with Deputy Ioan Moldovan, vice president of the National Salvation Front in charge of relations with trade unions and social policy.

[Cretu] Mr. Moldovan, what are the current relations of the ruling party with those who are working today in our country's enterprises?

[Moldovan] I think it is difficult to talk about the relations of a party, even the ruling party, with such a large and diverse group of people. The most effective dialogue can be conducted with the trade unions which are the only institutionalized form of professional groups. Therefore, to conduct a dialogue with the trade unions means, in fact, to become acquainted with the problems of life and work of these people.

[Cretu] How do you assess the meetings between the Front and the unions?

[Moldovan] In my view, relations between the party and unions before the [FSN] Convention were inadequate. Afterward, however, a nucleus formed within the FSN parliamentary group called "contact group," which succeeded in starting off a dialogue with representatives of trade union confederations; thus the Permanent Consultative Assembly of the FSN Parliamentary Group and of the Trade Union Confederations of Romania was formed. It is holding its proceedings every two months and up to now has discussed subjects of major interest for the unions; within the Senate it intervened to improve the trade union law and it initiated some draft bills, and so forth. We are at the stage of formulating certain legislative proposals in connection with establishing the Economic and Social Council—an autonomous body that will play a consultative role and that may act as moderating factor to calm down social tension, and may correct certain government actions. The meeting I was talking about was also attended by government members as guests, who presented the actions taken in various social sectors. The dialogue is very effective and the exchange of ideas that is made, especially those referring to certain legislative initiatives, are given concrete shape in the activity of the parliamentary group.

[Cretu] The fact that the Front tries to conducts this dialogue with the trade unions is often interpreted as a desire to attract them.

[Moldovan] It is absolutely natural for a ruling party to be familiar with the needs of the people. Anyhow, the Front does not propose to turn the unions into political organizations, but rather tries to demonstrate that it is a social democratic party, and to persuade people that it represents the interests of the trade unions and workers.

[Cretu] I know that a short time ago you yourself proposed a law on social security....

[Moldovan] It is not exactly a law. Actually, I came up with a few ideas through which a complex security system could be achieved for all our citizens: In the areas of health and education, and with regard to pensions, unemployment, post-unemployment, health benefits, security institutions, and so forth. As far as I understand, these proposals were welcomed and tangible discussions will take place with a few trade union confederations during which we will figure out the guidelines and principles of a genuine social policy.

[Cretu] I would like you to speak at greater length about this project. Do you think that at this time we can talk about a solid legislation in the social area?

[Moldovan] So far, no global social security system has been outlined. It incorporates certain social security elements playing mainly a mitigating role. I believe that what we need at this time is a new social policy; we need a new social policy not a patching up of the old one. Therefore, we decided to create a social security bank (it can have a different name) with funds realized from state subsidies and from contributions by economic agents and citizens. In turn, this bank has to cover costs for health care, education, pensions, unemployment benefits, allowances for the handicapped, and so forth. Those who will be incorporated in this system will enjoy benefits free of charge and will benefit from security.

[Cretu] Specifically, what does free of charge mean?

[Moldovan] In a market economy, the state budget is made up of taxes and tariffs. Consequently, in the not too distant future the state will be unable to maintain an appropriate level of social security activities. Before

December 1989, the totalitarian state took hold of everything and tried to ensure certain facilities by limiting others in exchange. The advantage of the bank, about which I said that it could become the biggest one in Romania, would be the fact that during certain periods, when pressure in a certain social area is intense, one could turn to the funds of another social element. For instance, let us say a temporary and selective pensioning law appears, in this case the funds necessary for pension payments will increase and those necessary for unemployment benefits or post-unemployment benefits will decrease appropriately.

[Cretu] How do you think this initiative will be received?

[Moldovan] I have to admit that I expect some resistance. The trade unions seem to like the system that has been proposed and they, too, have come up with some ideas. However, there will surely be resistance on the part of the ministries, which will find themselves in the situation of no longer managing funds resulting from state subsidies but just being what they should be: Mere methodological bodies in their working area. The current situation seems unnatural to me because today you have to run around with innumerable applications to build a school or a hospital, or to restore them; such problems have to be solved with a social security fund. That will allow us to have a clear idea where investments are needed. The bank or fund I was talking about would also have the right to use the capital for lucrative activities, to increase it, or to grant favorable credits to young people or people who are at a disadvantage.

[Cretu] Coming back to our subject, I would like you to speak about the presence of the Front in enterprises. Although it was clearly stated that there would be no politics in institutions, it seems that all parties are present in the factories and are making their propaganda, except for the Front.

[Moldovan] The Front has specifically kept clear of propaganda in basic units or of setting up organizations at that level. I believe that ours is a modern vision on political parties: A party is approved of not by developing in a branch-type and horizontal way, but on the basis of its political doctrine and practice.

Daily on Cabinet Reshuffle Speculations

AU0208080691 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 27/28 Jul 91 pp 1, 2

[Florin-Gabriel Marculescu article: "Poker at the Top"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Much has been and is still being said and written (not only in our country, but also abroad) about the consequences of the catastrophic international quarantine into which we were pushed immediately after that miraculous December 1989. Even though the sentiment of isolation (almost total for a long time after the miners' escapade) has lessened in the meantime, it is still leaving its imprint on our presence in the world. One reason for it is that (here is a thought that deserves being said aloud over and over again) the only result of the anticommunist revolution, carried out at the price of much blood, is that power has remained in the hands of the same nomenklatura which, abandoning a forlorn ideology for the sake of appearances, has resorted to all available means to defend its immense privileges. [passage omitted]

These are just a few considerations why Mr. Roman is flirting with the idea of a coalition government. Otherwise, given his majority in Parliament, such a solution would be inconceivable, even hilarious in an authentic democracy.

A first attempt at a government reshuffle failed lamentably a few months ago; its memory is still fresh in our minds. Being a persevering man, Mr. Roman decided to start everything all over again. The first steps have already been accomplished. The position of minister is no longer incompatible with the status of parliamentarian—those who have ventured to join the executive branch being offered the chance of a withdrawal as honorable as possible under the dome of the Parliament. (It remains to be seen whether this also applies to the members of the current government) A second step was the alliance between the Front [National Salvation Front] and three parties which, only by showing a maximum amount of goodwill and blindness, could be considered as belonging to the opposition: PDAR [Romanian Democratic Agrarian Party], MER [Romanian Ecological Movement], and PL-AT [Liberal Party-Young Wing]. The collaboration with neocommunism has caused profound dissatisfaction in the last two political movements, and one does not exclude the possibility that Messrs. Toma George Maiorescu and Marcian Bleahu might lose 80 percent of their party members. Those with whom Mr. Roman would like to put together a coalition government are, as everyone knows, too modest and obedient for the reshuffle to have the desired visual effect. As far as the outside world is concerned, Prime Minister Roman stands to gain nothing from such a reshuffle. If it does take place after all, the new government will go down as yet another bluff, which Mr. Roman got us accustomed to from the moment he burst on the political scene. We admit that he has all the skills of a consummate poker player: self-control, cheekiness, charming smile, well-played ingenuity, and so forth. He has already proven that he can win without having been dealt favorable cards by fate. However, political poker at the top, between the same partners, inevitably leads to wear and tear—after a while, one's tricks and playing style cease to surprise one's partners. Therefore, Mr. Roman's playing is no longer efficient. His latest bluff concerns privatization. Forcing the Parliament to show total obedience, he apparently registered a win. However, he put all his bets on a single card, which will eventually bring him a loss. He ignored his partners, something which will not be forgotten or forgiven. His impatience to speedily achieve his goals is substantially reducing his chances of staying at the head of the government, as he still lacks an

economic solution and cannot halt the chaos into which he has let the country's economy slide. The recovery measures are not overwhelming, blockages continue, there is galloping inflation, price liberalization has gone astray, the state can no longer pay even the pensions, and the government decisions are contradictory and run counter to the requirements of the moment. We are paying the excessively high price of a reform which has not yet started. In these circumstances, we are not surprised that there has been some talk of late (coming from generally well-informed circles) about replacing the Roman government, rather than proceed with a cabinet reshuffle. Likely successors? The name of the Front's executive president, Mr. Ion Aurel Stoica, is increasingly being mentioned. His visit to England gives some consistency to this rumor. The name of the speaker of the Deputies' Assembly, Mr. Dan Martian, is also mentioned, but less and less. As far as I am concerned, knowing their caliber and limits, I would hardly give them a chance. But then, who knows what surprise may be in store for us?

Moldova's Rosca Favors Unity

AU0108171791 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 25 Jul 91 p 4

["The Aim of Moldova Is To Unite With Romania, States the Leader of the People's Front of Moldova"]

[Text] The People's Front of Moldova [FPM], the largest political organization of that republic, is satisfied with the way in which the referendum on the new Union Treaty has taken place in Moldova. This treaty has served to reunite Romanians on both banks of the Prut River—in other words, it has served the unification of Romania and Moldova. "The final aim is the unification of Moldova with Romania," People's Front leader Iuri Rosca claims.

"At this point we are supported by all political movements in Romania, irrespective of ideology. Soviet pressure on Moldova has united all Romanians. This is demonstrated by both the last declaration of the Romanian authorities and the Bucharest demonstrations," the Front leader says.

Rosca believes that in the future Moldova has to unite with Romania, although he admits that for the time being there are not many who support this viewpoint. "Romanian-phobia was cultivated in our republic for a long time. The word Romanian was synonymous with 'fascist,'" Rosca says. In the opinion of the FPM leader, the Russians who are residing on the left bank of the Nistru River, where a republic was proclaimed, are, like the Moldovans, victims of the Soviet system.

The separatist aspirations of the trans-Dniestrian republic do not worry Rosca a great deal. "The left bank of the Nistru River is not our territory and therefore we will not get involved too much in the struggle for it. This is not my own opinion, this is a historic truth," he says. How can we go to the left bank without being asked to do so? The Romanian state formed in the last century and these territories were not part of it. Despite this, in 1924 the Soviets created the Autonomous Moldovan Republic in those places which were densely populated, particularly by Romanians who had fled Transylvania. This was done to create an outpost for the purpose of conquering Bessarabia, which happened soon after that, and thus the Prut River became the border with Romania," Rosca explains.

The FPM leader is struggling, however, for "the downfall of the Russian Empire," so that the map of Europe will be redrafted despite the Helsinki Final Act. "I have not signed it and neither has Moldova. I suppose that Romania's signature is invalid because it dates back to the occupation regime," says Rosca, who believes that the USSR will fall apart in the next few years.

In the case of Moldova, the achievement of sovereignty is incomparably more difficult than for the Baltic republics, because—the FPM believes—they have had the "privilege of having been annexed in their entirety." An economic boycott is possible on the part of Moscow through the trans-Dniestrian republic which concentrates the major part of the vitally important industry; a deadlock without any outcome is possible, the fighters for independence believe. "We could be left without electricity. One has to bear in mind that the entire food industry is in Bessarabia and both sides would suffer in case of a mutual boycott This may entail a stop to food deliveries to Tiraspol and lead to dissatisfaction among the pro-Russian population," Rosca thinks.

"The discussions about the future of Moldova should take place in Chisinau [Kishinew] and Kiev (Ukraine), or even between Bucharest and Kiev, but in no case in Moscow. Geographical borders in this area then will be altered. It would be logical to return to the situation of 1940 (when Romania extended to the Nistru River). The only thing we should not permit is that two neighboring peoples be enemies—the Romanian and Ukrainian people," Rosca says.

"I believe that the unification with Romania is Moldova's ultimate aim and I believe that we will achieve this aim. Unfortunately, the Romanians in Bessarabia (read Moldova) do not know that they are Romanians. A special academy was set up to forge a new Moldovan people and the idea that the Moldovans are separate people was also promoted in schools and universities."

Spokesman on Incident in Budapest, Ethnic Strife

AU0108190491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1750 GMT 1 Aug 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 1/8/1991—In his August 1 press conference the spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ambassador Traian Chebeleu informed that in the evening of July 28, 1991 the building of Romania's diplomatic mission in Budapest was attacked with stones by a group of 4-5 people who swore in Hungarian at Romania's Embassy and state. This kind of

hooligan-like acts, the spokesman stated, are signs of a climate of intolerance which cannot favour collaboration and the normal evolution of bilateral ties. He also specified that, on July 30 1991, the charge d'affaires ad interim of the Hungarian Republic in Bucharest was summoned at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and asked to convey the authorities in Budapest the Romanian side's concern over that act which disturbs the normal activity of Romania's diplomatic mission as well as the request that the competent Hungarian bodies prevent any action which might hamper the Romanian Embassy to exercise its attributions.

The ambassador also informed that the August issue of the "ERDELYI MAGYARSAG"—the Transylvanian Hungarian community periodical - has been recently released in Budapest inserting, like its previous issues, articles with anti-Romanian and revisionist opinions which incite to destabilizing Romania's state structure, harm the Romanian people's national feelings. The entire issue is devoted to the idea of the dismemberment of the states neighbouring Hungary as well as to direct and indirect attacks on the peace treaties in Trianon and Paris, concluding that the solution would be the organisation by Swiss model, within a "new Vienna congress."

Consultations were held in Bucharest between the analysis departments of the Romanian and Soviet Ministries of Foreign Affairs during which analysis was made of the latest world developments, especially after the Gulf crisis.

Approach was also made of the European developments, special attention being paid to the implications of the crisis in Yugoslavia for the stability in the area and, in general, on the continent, Ambassador Traian Chebeleu specified during the press conference at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Consultations were held in Washington last week between the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the U.S. Department of State on questions concerning non-proliferation of the weapons of mass destruction. Opinions were exchanged on the non-proliferation of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and of missiles especially in connection with the cooperation in this field between the two countries as well as with other states, the spokesman of the Foreign Affairs Ministry, Traian Chebeleu, informed during the August 1, 1991 press conference.

Ambassador Traian Chebeleu made the following statement at his August 1 news conference in connection with the resolution U.S. Congress adopted on July 29, 1991 on aspects of inter-ethnic relations in Romania:

We see this resolution as an expression of the concern and wish of U.S. Congress to back the assertion and consolidation of an authentic democracy in Romania on the basis of observance of human rights.

It is more than obvious that such concerns coincide with those of the Romanian Government which, in its repeated statements, has condemned and dissociated itself from any shows, irrespective of their political, ideological, ethnic or social grounds, that can harm Romania's advance on the road of democracy.

As a matter of fact, we note the objectivity of the U.S. Congress resolution which assesses that stand and efforts of the Romanian Government admitting that it is only an insignificant number of people or publications that committed the incriminated acts. Ethnic intolerance does not characterise the Romanian people.

Federal

Presidency Unable To Report on Crisis Solution

LD0108165891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1539 GMT 1 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 1 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Presidency informed the Yugoslav Assembly today that it was unable at the present moment to meet the federal parliament's request for a report about the activities it was undertaking to resolve the crisis in the country.

The Presidency said it had already twice called enlarged sessions intended to review the functioning of the system in Yugoslavia during the three-month moratorium, agreed in Brioni on July 7, on the implementation of the unilateral decisions of the republics of Slovenia and Croatia proclaiming independence.

The presidency said it had been planned that its twice-postponed session would yield accord on a search for a solution for future relations in the Yugoslav community.

The collective head of state said the meeting could not be held because some of the members invited had not come.

The enlarged session of the Yugoslav Presidency scheduled for July 30 was not held because Croatian President Franjo Tudjman failed to arrive—Tudjman was also absent from the meeting held on July 26.

Mesic Welcomes Europe's Peace Attempts

LD0108224491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2102 GMT 1 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, August 1 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Presidency President Stipe Mesic has said that it is good that Europe is now trying to resolve the Yugoslav problem, because "the Presidency itself is unable to implement its decisions."

In an interview which is published in the Belgrade weekly NIN tomorrow, Mesic said that the Yugoslav Presidency was unable to implement its decisions "because there is no equal political wil among all the factors in the Yugoslav political scene."

Mesic believes the conflicts in Croatia could be resolved if "the army stops being arbiter in the adoption of political decisions and Serbia stops the aid in weapons to rebel groups in Croatia."

The Croatian police and national guard have been engaged in armed conflicts with armed Serbs in Croatia for more than two months.

The Yugoslav Army acts as a "buffer" in the territory of Croatia. In recent days, however, Croatan armed forces on several occasions attacked the army and it returned fire.

A correction of the borders between the Yugoslav republics is impossible, Mesic believes, because it would be like Pandora opening the box. He said that borders must be guaranteed, just as the rights of individuals and the rights of collectivities outside these borders must be guaranteed.

Official Questions Republics' Commitment to Country

LD0108151191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1436 GMT 1 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, August 1 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Government spokesman Predrag Tasic said today that Europe urged the survival of Yugoslavia, but on new foundations, and its subsequent joining the European Community.

Tasic accused the leaderships of Slovenia, Croatia and Serbia of "not really wanting Yugoslavia, unlike the Federal Government and Prime Minister (Ante) Markovic". This is the key to the Yugoslav problem, he told a press conference.

Europe's support to the survival of Yugoslavia was confirmed during Markovic's visit to Brussels and at the Dubrovnik summit of the hexagonal - a regional organization whose members are Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Italy, Poland and Yugoslavia.

Speaking about the forthcoming visit of an EC troika to Zagreb and Belgrade, Tasic said that the main topics of their talks would be a ceasefire and the restoration of peace in Croatia, the disarming of illegally armed groups and civilians and the monitoring of these agreements.

Clashes are underway in Croatia between the republican armed formations on one side and Serbs and their armed units on the other.

The EC troika will also discuss violations of sections of the Brioni Declaration concerning a peaceful resolution of the Yugoslav crisis and a three-month moratorium on Slovenia's and Croatia's decisions on independence and the launching of talks on Yugoslavia's future, Tasic added.

Listing the examples of violations of the Brioni Declaration adopted with the EC mediation, Tasic spoke about decisions of the Slovenian and Croatian parliaments to withdraw their deputies from the Federal Assembly which, according to him, is a continuation of attempts to unilaterally break Yugoslavia. Assistance will be sought from the EC, he said, because the Federal Government is not able to force Slovenia to respect federal regulations and agreements it has already accepted.

Voicing his personal opinion, Tasic accused the Republic of Serbia of "dismembering the Federal Government and federal institutions, forcing Croats and Slovenes out of them and creating a truncated Yugoslavia."

BORBA Cited in Defense of Federal Army

LD0208094491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0859 GMT 2 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, August 2 (TANJUG)—Belgrade daily BORBA writes on Friday that accords reached on cease fire in parts of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia involved in conflict between the Serb population and the Croatian police and guard "were being violated only a few hours after being reached. It is an established fact that this was not done by the Yugoslav People's Army (YPA), which is preventing even greater bloodshed," the paper notes.

It carries the statements of YPA soldiers securing the "25 Maj" bridge on the Danube, between the towns Backa Palanka in Yugoslav autonomous province of Vojvodina and Ilok in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, saying that the YPA never opened fire first, but that this was done by Croatian police and guard.

"We have never opened fire first nor will we be the first to shoot," Lt. Col. Radisa Lazic, in charge of securing the bridge, said in a statement to BORBA. "We are trying to secure the crossing over the bridge for all those who come this way," explains Lazic.

"I witnessed when we were shot at from the other side of the bridge, near Ilok, by snipers," said soldier Harun Karbadovic, noting that the army "returned fire, as authorized."

"We will not allow ourselves to be the target of attacks, to be shot at," says soldier Elis Santic. "When they first opened fire on us from Ilok," says Santic, "we first warned them, but in the future we will not be as lenient with those who shoot at us."

The Croatian authorities have on several occasions claimed that the YPA units stationed at the "25 Maj" bridge opened fire on the Croatian side, inflicting human and material losses.

No Discussion Yet on Bringing in Foreign Troops

LD0108162291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1440 GMT 1 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, August 1 (TANJUG) - There has so far been no discussion about a possible sending of "foreign troops to Yugoslavia," who would act as peace-keeping forces, Yugoslav Foreign Ministry spokesman Srdjan Kerim told a press conference here on Thursday.

Recalling some indications about "the deployment of foreign troops," Kerim said that the Yugoslav Government had repeatedly presented its stand that the activities of the observer missions must be in keeping with the mandate given by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) in that respect.

"Hitherto contacts with the European Community have dealt only with the question of increasing the number of observers, but not with that of sending troops to Yugoslavia," said Kerim.

Army Discourages Parents' Visits to Soldiers

LD0108062991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1454 GMT 31 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, 31 Jul (TANJUG)—The information service of the First Army District today issued a statement in connection with a demand by a number of parents asking to visit their sons, soldiers in YPA [Yugoslav People's Army] garrisons situated on the territory of Slavonia and Baranja. The statement says:

"This command has recently been addressed by a number of parents asking to pay visits to their sons who are doing their national service in garrisons on the territory of Slavonija and Baranja. We are informing the public that, trying to meet the natural parents' desire and need, we encountered unbridgeable difficulties. Namely, appropriate bodies of the Republic of Croatia refused to offer any guarantees for the safe movement throughout the mentioned territory, even when escorted by the bodies of the YPA. We are asking all those parents interested in visiting their sons to pay heed to this fact. If circumstances change the public will be informed in a timely manner.

Marendic Says Nation Needs More Foreign Loans

LD0108041191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1611 GMT 31 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, July 31 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Development Minister Bozidar Marendic warned today that unless economic collapse was prevented and conditions created for a balance-of-payment equillibrium, the country would soon have to declare a unilateral moratorium on its foreign debt payments.

This would lead to an economic boycott of Yugoslavia in all spheres of economic life and ties with the world, Marendic told a joint session of the Credit and Monetary System Committee, the Committee for Foreign Economic Relations and the Finance Committee of the Federal Assembly's Chamber of Republics and Provinces.

The session was not attended by deputies from Slovenia, since the republic decided to withdraw its representatives from the Federal bodies after the proclamation of independence on June 25.

Urging measures for normalizing the economic and political situation in Yugoslavia, Marendic said this would also help create conditions for the granting of foreign loans.

Owing to the deterioration in the economic sector, the country now needs more than the recently estimated three billion dollars in foreign loans, he added.

The Federal development minister said Yugoslavia might receive more money from abroad if everything went as planned. Talks are underway with International Monetary Fund officials on a new stand-by arrangement, he added.

All kinds of expenditure are overstrained in a situation when the GNP fell by as much as 15 per cent, said Marendic.

Accumulation funds are empty, and since demand is much above supply, monthly inflation may reach 50 per cent by the end of the year, unless something is done, he added.

Governor of the National Bank of Yugoslavia Dusan Vlatkovic told the session that the country's foreign currency reserves would total 3.6 billion dollars by the end of September.

Since no financial aid from abroad should be expected by that time, the foreign currency reserves should only be used for the repayment of fixed and guaranteed obligations of the federation, said Vlatkovic.

He also urged a suspension of financial obligations towards the Paris Club governments.

Noting that the debt owed to the Paris Club totals 640 million dollars, which Yugoslavia will not pay for the time being, Vlatkovic stressed that instead of money, the country had only received promises, and yet it was expected to meet its obligations.

Clashes Hamper Inflow of Foreign Aid

LD3107133791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0704 GMT 31 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, July 31 (TANJUG)—Over 1.318 billion dollars worth of funds, which international financial organizations approved for crediting the construction of the road and rail infrastructure, awaits the calming of the political situation in Yugoslavia in order to be taken over by domestic investors, representatives of the federal transport and links secretariat have announced.

The European Investment Bank alone has frozen 257.5 million dollars of unused funds from a second financial protocol, 680 million dollars approved by a third protocol and 68 million dollars approved for the reconstruction of the main railway route.

The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) has postponed until October the utilization of a 121-million dollar credit, while talks on using the already approved 292 million dollars of a third sector loan for roads have also been postponed.

Without these funds the chances of resuming work on modernizing the road and rail network in Yugoslavia are quite remote.

Government Demands Protection of Power Supply

LD0108181191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1727 GMT 1 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 1 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav government said today it had asked the governments of all republics and provinces to prevent acts of sabotage against power supply and distribution facilities and put a stop to the forcible denial of power supplies to certain areas.

The government's information secretariat said there were numerous acts of sabotage against the electricity network and many settlements, particularly in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, had had their power supply cut off.

There are frequent clashes in the Republic of Croatia between republican police and national guard units and the republic's Serb population and its armed units, while the Yugoslav People's Army (YPA) is acting as a buffer in an effort to prevent the fighting.

The government said work to repair damage to power facilities was being conducted in extremely difficult conditions and under the protection of the YPA where necessary.

International

Tudjman Meets Arriving EC Experts

LD0108200991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1929 GMT 1 Aug 91

[Text] Zagreb, August 1 (TANJUG)—A group of European Community experts arrived in Zagreb, capital of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, this evening in preparation for tomorrow's arrival of the EC's ministerial troika.

On arrival, the members of the EC advance party were received by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman.

A statement issued by the federal foreign secretariat said that the troika, made up of the foreign ministers of the Netherlands, Luxembourg and Portugal, would have talks with Croatian President Tudjman before going on to Ljubljana for talks with the leadership of the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia.

The programme of the visit includes the EC foreign ministers' talks on Sunday in Belgrade with members of the Presidency of Yugoslavia and the presidents of the other four Yugoslav republics.

Jacques Poos Asks EC To Prevent Civil War

LD0208083491 Hamburg DPA in German 0736 GMT 2 Aug 91

[Text] Cologne (DPA)—Immediately before the departure of the so-called EC troika to Yugoslavia for mediation talks, Luxembourg Foreign Minister Jacques Poos called on the community "to try everything possible to prevent the outbreak of a civil war." The mission of the EC foreign ministers from the Netherlands, Luxembourg, and Portugal is more important than ever. It is necessary to sound out the depths in Yugoslavia and see whether the leadership of the Republic of Croatia and of the country are still standing by the Brioni agreement, Poos said on Deutschlandfunk today. Should this no longer be the case, then "our mission will certainly be over."

In the fact of the escalation of fighting in Croatia, Poos spoke of a "start of a civil war" in Yugoslavia, whereby one can not see precisely from the outside whether this war is being conducted by "nationalist extremists" or "uncontrolled army elements," or whether it is a question of "deliberate actions by the political leadership." Poos concedes that faced with the problems in Yugoslavia, the EC left an impression of helplessness behind it. However, it has also emerged that the presence of European observers is having a calming effect on feelings in Yugoslavia, he said.

Bulgaria Warned on Sending Delegation to Skopje

LD0108195191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1805 GMT 1 Aug 91

[Text] Sofia, August 1 (TANJUG)—The Bulgarian Foreign Ministry has informed the Yugoslav Embassy that the Bulgarian committee in charge of preparing the 88th anniversary of the Ilinden uprising had decided to send a delegation to Skopje, the capital of the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, to lay a wreath on the grave of Goce Delcev, whom it described as the "great son of the Bulgarian people."

The delegation includes figures known for their propagating "the Bulgarian character and spirit of the Macedonian people" and open advocating of Yugoslavia's disintegration as "a starting point for a definite unification of the Bulgarian people within its ethnic and historical borders."

Yugoslavia assessed a similar initiative last year as gross provocation and prevented the arrival of a Bulgarian delegation to Skopje. The incident triggered strong anti-Yugoslav and anti- Macedonian campaign in Bulgaria.

The Yugoslav Embassy in Sofia has conveyed to the Bulgarian Foreign Ministry the stand of the official Yugoslav organs that the latest decision on sending a delegation to Skopje was equally unacceptible and that it could only be understood as a continuation of Bulgaria's old policy of denying the existence of the Macedonian nation.

Split Mayor Issues Protest on Arms Exports

LD3107165491 Stockholm Sveriges Radio Network in Swedish 1600 GMT 31 Jul 91

[Text] The deputy mayor of Split, Yugoslavia, protests in a letter to the Swedish Embassy against Swedish weapons exports to Yugoslavia. The official also writes that a group of Swedish military experts visited a naval base in Split as late as the middle of June. The protest letter has been forwarded to the Swedish Foreign Ministry and to the War Materials Inspectorate, which is expected to reply next week.

Slovenia

VJESNIK Assesses Current Situation

LD0108035991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1715 GMT 31 Jul 91

[Text] Zagreb, July 31 (TANJUG)—The Zagreb daily VJESNIK writes today that the ruling Demos coalition in the Yugoslav republic of Slovenia "is in dire straits" because the grassroots have become aware that the government of Premier Lojze Peterle is not in control of the republican economy.

"The section of the government which suppressed information and bore the brunt of the burden in the recent conflicts in Yugoslavia ...cannot accept to be the target of public criticism and answer some very embarassing questions as to how much the Slovenian war cost and whether it paid off", says the paper.

Slovenians who were promised Europe will soon "demand to see the positive effects of independence, which the current government is not and will not be able to offer them", it adds.

Demos will have to reshuffle the government to save itself, because otherwise its majority in parliament will soon wane, writes VJESNIK.

"The attack of the democrats in a closed-door meeting of Demos leaders has allegedly failed", it adds.

VJESNIK goes on to say that "the winner of the war, Defence Minister Janez Jansa", is obviously determined to replace Peterle by Interior Minister Igor Bavcar.

Slovenian Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel is also against Peterle, it adds.

According to VJESNIK, Slovenia will soon face bitter inter-party disputes, and the opposition will wait for the current leadership to stew in their own juice, concludes VJESNIK.

VJESNIK, BORBA on Leaders' 'Differences'

LD0108190391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1642 GMT 1 Aug 91

[Text] Zagreb, August 1 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav press on Thursday revealed new details concerning differences within the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia's ruling coalition Demos, noting that Slovenian Premier Lojze Peterle has succeeded in beating off the attacks by his inisters.

The Zagreb daily VJESNIK, published in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, writes that both Peterle and Slovenian Defence Minister Janez Jansa have confirmed the unofficial reports about Jansa's demand that Peterle be replaced and that current Interior Minister Igor Bavcar become new mandatory for the composition of the republic's new government.

According to VJESNIK, Jansa said that a reconstruction of the government was needed so that Slovenia could use the manoeuvring space created after last month's clashes between the Slovenian Territorial Defence and the Yugoslav Army on the territory of that republic and the Yugoslav Presidency's decision on the withdrawal of the Yugoslav Army from Slovenia.

Jansa believes that Slovenia's main task now is to prove that it is capable of economic and political survival, as well as of speedier development and reaching of European standards.

Jansa said that Slovenia's international recognition depended on this and that the current government was not capable of fulfilling the condition.

On June 25, the Slovenian Parliament decided, in keeping with the results of an earlier plebiscite, to secede from Yugoslavia.

Peterle, however, believes that the international public would see the arrival of the chief of the police at the helm of the republican government as a sign of a strengthening role of the police and a kind of a coup, writes VJESNIK.

Nevertheless, Peterle had to admit that his cabinet was not successful enough and to accept the coalition's decision on forming a commission which would propose new ministers, notes VJESNIK.

Presenting the same details which indicate the Slovenian Government's uncertain future, the Belgrade daily BORBA assesses that Jansa has won yet another war at home, even without performing a coup.

Whether Jansa would stop at this point will depend on the Slovenian public, which has increasingly voiced fear from possible militarisation, concludes BORBA.

DELO Eyes Prospects for 'Unilateral Secession'

LD0208034391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1211 GMT 1 Aug 91

[Text] Ljubljana, August 1 (TANJUG)—Attempts exist for a "unilateral secession from Yugoslavia to be imposed on Slovenia, along with all political and economic consequences," as the daily DELO, published in the Slovenian capital of Ljubljana, says today.

"Slovenia would have to pay for such a move of 'good will' with some Federal property held in its possession," DELO warns.

Serbian circles are trying hard to blame Slovenia for violations of the Brioni Declaration and convince Europe that Slovenia obstructs a peaceful solution to the Yugoslav crisis—the daily sets out.

"The government of Federal Prime Minister Ante Markovic is applying economic steps to compel Slovenia to make new unilateral moves, and, apart from an economic blockade, it threatens Slovenia with blocking its foreign exchange accounts abroad," DELO says.

"Plundering and confiscating Slovenia's property in some parts of Yugoslavia" are aimed either at throwing thus impoverished Slovenians out of Yugoslavia or at forcing Slovenia to "cringe back to the Yugoslav federation," DELO writes.

Additional Trains To Speed Army Withdrawal

AU0108155991 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 1 Aug 91

[Text] Two trains carrying 27 tanks, 17 armored vehicles, and 23 trucks left the Logatec railroad station today after waiting for three days. The two trains left between 0300 and 0400 this morning and are now already in Croatia.

The Logatec railroad station is expecting new railroad cars which will carry an approximately equal number of military vehicles. This freight will be sent to Banja Luka, as today's was.

We have learned from the Republican Internal Affairs Secretariat that a column of 51 military vehicles was moving from Ljubljana toward Zagreb this morning. This is part of the agreed-upon withdrawal of the Yugoslav Army from Slovenia and it is accompanied by Slovene militia members. At about 1500, the column left Slovene territory.

Croatia

Tudjman Addresses Republic Assembly

LD0108154391 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0727 GMT 1 Aug 91

[Speech by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman at Croatian Sabor, Assembly, session in Zagreb—live]

[Excerpts] Mr President, esteemed deputies of the Croatian Sabor:

The reasons why I asked the Sabor Presidium to convene this emergency session have been given to you by the Sabor President. In view of the objectives of the aggression, of the war of aggression which the Republic of Serbia is conducting against the Republic of Croatia with the assistance of its protagonists within Croatia itself, the Sabor must discuss the situation and the state of war and adopt the necessary decisions. In addition, our reconstructed government has to be presented to you and you have to vote for it and give it your confidence.

To begin with, I would only like to set out some assessments and present some findings for your discussion. In this house, both I and all of you have had an opportunity to note that there have been people in Yugo-unitarist and Greater-Serbian ranks who have never become reconciled to the establishment of democratic authority in general and to the establishment of a free sovereign republic of Croatia in particular. This is why—as the Sabor president has said—following the adoption of the constitutional decision on the proclamation of the sovereignty and independence of the Republic of Croatia, again following a referendum which we had carried out and during which almost 94 per cent of the population, that is of the voting body of the Republic of Croatia, declared themselves to be in favor of the sovereignty of the Republic of Croatia, we have been facing intensified aggression, an intensified war of aggression to occupy areas in the Republic of Croatia, and with aggression and war virtually unmatched in this part of Europe and during the present century.

This war against the Republic of Croatia is a testimony to the fact that we are facing a war which we have tried to avoid, although we were aware of their intentions and objectives. This war is stage-managed and conducted from Serbia, aided by the ringleaders of the rebellious movement, and with weaponry and direct involvement by the official representatives of the Republic of Serbia and their arrival on the territory of the Republic of Croatia. And they came not only from Serbia, but from Montenegro as well, as was the case recently with Dr Kostic, the Montenegrin representative in the Federal Presidency, where he is now the vice president. He has openly sided with the outlaws and he is trying to legalize them and encourage their further illegal rebellion and aggression against the Republic of Croatia.

We knew from the very outset that the Yugoslav Army, which officially had taken up a position of noninterference in the solution of the poltical crisis in Yugoslavia, recognized the legitimacy and legality of the Croatian authorities, and also said that it would recognize any political solution concerning the resolution of the Yugoslav crisis. This Yugoslav Army, while taking up this position totally, has in fact become a shield for the spread of banditry [odmjetnistvo] and for a war of aggression on the part of Serbia against Croatia. Furthermore, some sections of the Yugoslav Army in some areas have actively sided with the outlaws by virtue of the military action they have undertaken.

The objective of the Serbian policy regarding the development of this war on Croatian territory is evident. They want to annex certain areas of the Republic of Croatia to the Republic of Serbia, the areas which they believe are inhabited by Serbs, and following their concept that where a Serb lives is Serbia.

Serbs account for 12 percent of the population of Croatia. In some areas, some towns, settlements, and even municipalities, they constitute a majority, but no case has ever been recorded in the history of Europe and mankind whereby because a section of the population lives in another country, annexation is demanded and even a war is waged to effect the annexation of these areas to another country.

To this 12 percent minority in Croatia whom, however, we did not treat as a minority, we recognized all their civic and national rights, we recognized their right to cultural autonomy—in my message I stressed in particular that it is our intention to secure and that we are prepared to secure and to guarantee their proportional participation in the overall government system and also their territorial self-goverment. However, all this has been rejected by extremist Serbian representatives who are egged on by the Serbian policy. They do not allow the Serbs in Croatia who want to be normal citizens of the Republic of Croatia, who are aware that they had come here three and a half centuries ago and that they were accepted here and that they have lived together with the Croatian people and that the new government authorities are offering them, more than ever before, all the conditions required for normal co- existence in keeping with all international conventions of the present-day world—these extremist representatives of Serbian chauvinism and of Serbian imperialism and others of their ilk, directly and daily egged on and controlled by Belgrade, are preventing the majority of the Serbian population in Croatia from becoming part of normal life in the Republic of Croatia. This involves threats and liquidation, with the result that the people from among the Serbs, even from Knin, are appealing to us to free them from this terror. However, all this is disregarded by those whose idea it is to create a greater Serbia and so they went to war using the Yugoslav Army which by the turn of events is daily becoming more and more Serbian and which despite all the public proclamations is increasingly turning into an occupation and aggressive force on Croatian territory.

We knew from the very outset that there are politically anti- Croatian circles in Yugoslavia and that there are people in existing structures who rely for support on political and army power and who refuse to become reconciled to any form of Croatianhood, and in this house I have said, and so have others, that we are facing the reality of a policy of assimilation, the policy of domination over Croatia and now, as we see, also a policy of secession of entire Croatian areas. We knew

from the very start that we are facing the forces which will want to settle their scores both with a democratic Croatia and with any other Croatia.

This is why we pursued a policy of peace, a policy of proferring a democratic solution of the Yugoslav crisis. We wanted to avoid any exacerbation of our relations with the Serbs in Croatia and we offered our hand on behalf of the Croatian people not only to the representatives of the Serbian people elected into the Croatian Sabor, but also to the Serbian Democratic Party, the most extremist Serbian party in Croatia as well. We wanted to settle our relations with Serbs in Croatia in a political and legal way. We also wanted to settle our relations with the republic of Serbia. However, all these efforts of ours proved to be futile because these greater Serbian circles and others of their ilk wanted to take advantage of the collapse of Titoist Yugoslavia to set up a greater Serbia. They set themselves the task in the existing circumcstances of resolving the Serbian question in the Balkans, especially to the detriment of Bosnia and Hercegovina and of Croatia.

In our peace policy we were not naive, as it may seem to some. We knew what sort of an adversary we were confronting. However, we wanted to create the conditions for a peaceful solution because we knew, both from our own experience and from historical experience, that major opponents must talk and negotiate both before a war and after a war. We wanted to avoid the worst,—war—not only to resolve this Yugoslav crisis, but also to establish the conditions for the normal coexistence of the Croatian people and the Serbs in Croatia, and between the republics of Croatia and Serbia.

We are still hoping that with European and international help we will avoid a general war, a war that would entail large-scale material and human loss. It would be a war in which those with aircraft and tanks in the disintegrating Yugoslav Army, those in control of this technical equipment, this superior equipment, would unleash it on our defence forces, on our villages and towns, as they are already doing, and on the cultural centers of the Croatian capital and other towns as well. There have been threats to this effect. Not just threats, because they will obviously use these weapons unless both internal domestic and international circumstances are created which will force them to desist from these crazy intentions.

In the situation which we are confronting, the fact is that Serbia is striving, under the protection of the Yugoslav Army, to occupy all the areas which it imagines should be incorporated into Greater Serbia. It should be mentioned in passing that we should remind them, both the occupiers and the world, about the borders Croatia entered the joint state with 73 years ago, in 1918. We can state with pleasure, however, that the world has grasped what we are talking about. The world has moved from indesision, from the stand that the framework of Yugoslavia, the kind of Yugoslavia as it once was, must be defended at any cost. The world is increasingly aware of what is happening, of the crisis in Yugoslavia. It is increasingly siding with the Republic of Croatia in defense of its democracy and sovereignty.

In such circumstances our intention is to persevere in defending the territorial integrity of the Republic of Croatia. To this end, we have already decided to mobilize the reserve units of the militia and the National Guard to the level allowed by the equipment and weapons at our disposal.

Why have we not gone for general mobilization? Ladies and gentlemen, simply because until today we have lacked the military capacity and the weapons for general mobilization. But, as you know, we have, from this top body, appealed to the entire nation to organize itself in self defense units. This is being done although not as successfully or efficiently in all parts of the republic, but it is being done. As we have said, the creation of the National Guard Corps and the reserve units is being harmonized with our capacity to arm ourselves. I must stress again: We have not failed to carry out any of our duties since the day we took over in Croatia, when we faced the militia force, when Croatia was disarmed after the Territorial Defense weapons were taken away from us. As we have seen in Slovenia, the weapons and the Territorial Defense organization were allowed to remain in Slovenia's hands. This enabled Slovenia to offer organized resistance to the Yugoslav Army.

This is the best evidence of how false the claims were that the Territorial Defense forces were treated equally throughout Yugoslavia. It was not so in Croatia, where the Territorial Defense was disarmed before the ascent of the democratic authorities. In Slovenia it remained in the hands of the people, the same in Serbia, slightly differently in Bosnia-Hercegovina and Macedonia.

Accordingly, our possibilities regarding the formation of our armed forces, the possibility of supplying our units with equipment, have been restricted. As a result, we did everything we could do in two directions. One was that we should start arms manufacture in our country as soon as possible. But, as you know, this is a protracted process. On the other hand, since we were unable to obtain equipment from the sources from which others were getting their arms, we had to turn to foreign countries. However, here we came up against obstacles, the kind of obstacles which could not be surmounted easily. In view of the general concept of the United States and of Europe, of the EC, that Yugoslavia should be preserved, specific instructions and orders were passed on to trade networks forbidding the sale of weapons to the republics. Croatia was specifically and explicitly singled out by name. Consequently, what we obtained, as we did obtain, we had to get despite this sort of attitude. This process has been going on and is still going on. This restriction was one of the reasons that we have been unable so far to accept a kind of direct war with the aggressors.

We knew what they were and what they wanted because we could not subject the defenseless Croatian people to

unnecessary casualties which could not contribute to freedom, to the freedom and sovereignty of Croatia, but to its destruction, because at that time the world was far removed from recognizing even the concept we were offering. Now, this has been accepted. It is the concept of the resolution of the Yugoslav crisis, which is possible through a federation of sovereign republics.

Also, in view of the consistent compliance with this policy of ours, the policy of democratic dialogue, the policy of negotiations, the world has become convinced that the people we were talking to did not want that. The world then approved our plan on the formation of a union of sovereign states, with the proviso that we said, in this context, that in this union we are seeking the recognition of international subjectivity of Croatia and the right to our own armed force so no one can create and impose conditions on the way we want to live. Today we have a situation in which the world recognizes the right of the Croatian people to decide about its independence and sovereignty, full sovereignty. It is asking us to do this without war and in a peaceful way. In this respect, they are promising us full aid in the resolution of the Yugoslav crisis by peaceful means and in the implementation of our constitutional decision on the proclamation of Croatian sovereignty and independence in a peaceful and agreed-upon manner.

These were the objective circumstances to which we were limited and restricted in our defense policy. Accordingly, we were confined by these circumstances. For this reason, we carried out the mobilizationa few days ago, as well as ordering more mobilization of our units [sastav], the militia reserves and National Guard Corps units. We want to arm these units, in view of the fact that the arms acquisition situation has recently become slightly more favorable. There remains the task of implementing the decision to form national self-protection detachments.

We have issued directives to the Ministry of National Defense to provide specific instructions. The message to the Croatian people of this house should be that they should set up volunteer detachments from among the people willing to resist Chetnik invasion and Chetnik conquest of Croatian territory.

We have said, we have issued directives to our defense forces, to defend every inch of Croatian land and to undertake offensive action against aggression by Chetnik detachments whose rear is protected by Serbia and Bosnia and Hercegovina—not by the authorities in Bosnia and Hercegovina, but by Serbian imperialist circles in Bosnia and Hercegovina. We do this not because we want to slacken in the defense of our territory but because we are compelled to defend virtually all the points of our territory and because our forces are dispersed and we cannot allow them to be crushed in tactical defense. This is why at the very start we gave instructions to our military experts, to the Defense Ministry and the Internal Affairs to operate offensively to prevent attacks and to attain success in our offensive efforts. This is important not only to prevent further conquest of our villages and settlements, but also because of moral [words indistinct].

What is our attitude to the Yugoslav Army in view of these circumstances? We know full well what this Yugoslav Army is and what it is becoming. We know that the Yugoslav Army that once was—the Army of all our peoples and, according to the last SFRY Constitution, what it should be. It is increasingly becoming a Serbian army. We know that the supreme command of the Yugoslav Army issues statements on the recognition of the legality and of the legitimacy of democratic authorities in Croatia, and that it is explicitly countering attacks on Croatian democratic authorities. We know that it is also shielding the arming of what they call Serbian volunteer detachments. I don't know what they are called, Dusan Silni [Dusan the Mighty, medieval Serbian king and emperor]. They also started to set up Knin divisions and other divisions on the pattern of the conditions prevailing during the World War II.

Faced with the situation in which some units of the Yugoslav Army openly sided with the outlaws, we gave our units and the (?relevant organs) the task of not providing the Army with a reason for military intervention, since the Yugoslav Army top brass had insisted in both the Yugoslav Presidency and before the world that the Yugoslav Army would not act against Croatian authorities unless provoked.

That army continues, through its representatives in the Presidency of Yugoslavia, to declare that it is ready to accept the political solutions which are to be agreed upon through political negotiations during the moratorium; it is our view today that we should not tell that army that it is prepared to accept the solution, whether as an alliance of federal republics or on dissociation. [sentence as heard] In other words, since these negotiations have started with the help of the EC, and since the three-month truce—a month has already passed—has not long to go, we think that in that period we should accept the basis which the Yugoslav Army also endorses, or rather the democratic solution on which it insists. But, at the same time we are aware of the fact that we must resist with all available means any further attempt to conquer Croatian territory, Croatian villages and towns. If Yugoslav Army units in that war side with Serbian imperial, imperialist, and expansionist forces, Serbian outlaws and the Serbian war of conquest, our forces must oppose even the units of the Yugoslav Army.

Finally, in this defense (?conception), we will work every moment, every hour, every day and night, on further strengthening our defense forces in every way—organizational, combat, armaments, etc., to prepare our combat forces, our defense forces and all the people for all-out war in case we cannot avoid it. In this respect, we have no doubts. There can be no compromise. We believe, if we cannot avoid this war, that we will be able to withstand the attack of this army, such as it is,

regardless of the losses it might inflict on us, and that with the help of the international community, we will finally win this war.

But, I repeat, we will do everything we can to prevent such an all-out war, which would be disastrous for all sides, which would inflict great losses on Croatian people and the Serbian population in Croatia. The Serbian population would especially, as a minority, be completely (?exposed) in such a war.

But, proof that Serbia is preparing for war, and that it is ready for extreme consequences, is the fact that it is removing the significant part of the Serbian population to Serbia. This is being done in a planned way, not only for its effect on the morale of people in Serbia and the world, but also to prepare for battle. They say that this Serbian population is fleeing the crimes of the Croatian leadership, the Croatian democratic leadership, which they call Ustasha-like, and that it is like the independent state of Croatia. That the Serbian people have risen for this reason. They say this is why they are supporting this outlaw movement in Croatia. The best proof that it is not a question of them waging war only on the democratic Croatian leadership and the Croatian people, the Croatian population in these regions, but that they want to clear the regions they want to annex to Serbia of all non-Serbian people, is the fact they are also oppressing the Hungarian national minority in East Slavonia.

Yesterday I received the representatives of 9,000 Hungarians from Laslovo and surrounding villages, who are just as threatened as Croatian villages, who are [word indistinct] threatened, who cannot bury their dead in their own villages, cannot communicate normally with neighboring Hungarian villagers, who feel no less threatened than Croats in Croatian villages. This is the best proof for the world about the meaning of Serbian imperialist policy. It is aimed against Croatian authorities, the Croatian nation and against all living in an area it wants to include in its concept of Greater Serbia.

Esteemed house, in such a situation, with the carrying out of the kind of policy I have described, we were clearly faced with a difficult situation from the very beginning. Even in the past few days, with the extreme exacerbation of the war crisis, I have personally received proposals that we should carry out the demobilization of the reserve police forces and forces of the National Guard Corps so Croatia could indicate it is ready for peaceful polices, for completely democratic solutions, and so we would get assistance from Europe, from the world, and so on. One of these, and there were many such proposals, was in particular suggested to me by the president of the federal government, Mr. Markovic, that we also disarm our opponents, and thus create the right conditions. I did not accept this proposal, nor the proposal of the president of the federal government when he recommended that I withdraw our forces from Plitvice when it was surrounded, attacked by Chetnik hordes and surrounded by the Yugoslav Army tanks, and when the Yugoslav Army threatened, issued an ultimatum that our police forces should withdraw from Plitvice, because if they did not withdraw, I think the deadline was by 1500 that day, they would be destroyed. Mr. Markovic then proposed that I withdraw that force, but I opposed this and I said no. To our people who said so what if they are destroyed, I said no, because in the struggle for the defense of freedom and integrity there are certain moments when it has to be made clear that we are prepared to suffer rather than give way. If we had withdrawn then from Plitvice, they would probably already have been, or tried to be, in Karlovac. Similarly, if we disarm now, they could impose their conditions on us by force.

The international community is the way it is, it will offer us help, but that help will also depend on the extent to which we, with our strength, are necessary to that international community, the extent to which with our strength we are a factor in the international order. I believe that we have so far shown with our policies and our strength that the international community is taking us into account.

In any case, we did not accept proposals for demobilization. I took into account the opinions of ordinary Croatian people and the political ranks of the Croatian nation, including, for example, a delegation of the Croatian Bishops' Conference, which asked that we should do everything to prevent the outbreak of general war, which would cause incalculable human and material losses.

These are the reasons we are pursuing this policy. It is the only possible policy. As a result, we have not accepted the proposals from our own ranks, and, let me say again, the proposals coming both from ordinary men in the street and high-ranking military experts, to start a general offensive against the Yugoslav Army on all fronts [words indistinct] and wage a general war against Serbia and the Yugoslav Army. We did not accept such a proposal because we believe that we have not yet exhausted all the possibilities of avoiding such a war and because, I do not want to repeat myself, we want to avoid unnecessary casualties if we can. I think that it will be shown, after all, that the international community, Europe, and the United States will have, if not a vital, then a decisive role to play in the solution of the Yugoslav crisis. Even a supporter of this Serbian imperialist program to create a Greater Serbia recently stated that international factors played a decisive role in the formation of Yugoslavia as a common state, and that their role in its collapse cannot be avoided.

So that is why. Such is the ratio of forces in the internal domestic and international... [changes thought] this is why we pursued such a defense policy and this why we approved the agreement with the EC following the two meetings in Zagreb which later resulted in the Brioni Declaration and why we favor the acceptance of the EC initiative. Soon, tomorrow and the day after tomorrow, their president, the troika, the current president and the future president of the EC ministerial council, will be in

Zagreb and Belgrade. But, I do not know where the signing, if signing a new agreement takes place, will happen.

Accordingly, we accept it, with their help, so that we can try to ensure the implementation of the sovereignty and independence of the Republic of Croatia, in an attempt to prevent the worst.

However, as I have said, if we do not succeed in these efforts to resolve the crisis in a democratic way, we will not go to our knees. With our forces, and by appealing to our entire nation, we shall defend the sovereignty of Croatia.

Ladies and gentlemen, there is some public confusion about the correct nature of our policy. Above all, the questions of Slovenia, of Bosnia-Hercegovina, of our attitude to Bosnia-Herecegovina, the Muslims, Albanians in Kosovo and the Macedonians are posed.

Today, it is clear even to the sparrows in the trees, as the saying goes, that the Slovene policy could have been more resolute and more decisive than ours, for three reasons. First is its geopolitical position. Second, they do not have the problems we have with the Serbs in Croatia. Third, Slovenia was given the go-ahead by the overall Serbian policy and by a section of the Yugoslav Army top command, allowing it to leave Yugoslavia, in fact, to leave as soon as possible.

In these circumstances, it was, in fact, the Federal Executive Council which provoked the Army intervention with its decision, when it was revealed that a section of the Army was in favor of that intervention. (?But a majority) was not in favor of that intervention, and so the adventure ended the way it did. In those circumstances, some of our people thought that we, too, ought to have entered the war against the Yugoslav Army and Serbia. Some Slovene politicians said that we were not consistent in our policy.

The matter is like this: We were aware of this position and of relations within the context of Yugoslav politics. We tried to establish relations which were as genuine and as friendly as possible with democratic Slovenia, and to coordinate our efforts for the implementation of full sovereignty and independence. The result was that Slovenes decided as early as the autumn of last year to dissociate themselves from the rest of Yugoslavia. So, we managed to coordinate this and simultaneously adopt a decision. But, because of their special situation, they went for what provoked military intervention in Slovenia. As you can see, this military intervention failed to materialize. Yet, afterwards Slovenia was compelled to go back to our position, in the sense that an agreement on dissociation had to be reached because international factors would not allow this to be done in any other way. Accordingly, there has been no inconsistency on our part. At that time, we did not risk war with the entire Yugoslav Army and Serbia, for the reasons I cited earlier. They would have used the firepower of tanks, aircraft and the Army mobilized in Serbia against us. That is why [words indistinct].

Bosnia-Hercegovina: Our position was, our attitude toward Bosnia- Hercegovina was and is the same. We said we favor the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Bosnia-Hercegovina. We appealed to the republic that a Bosnia-Hercegovina in which most people can decide their future should proclaim its sovereignty and declare itself in favor of a union with Croatia and Slovenia. However, this did not happen. On the contrary, an understanding was reached with Serbian policy. We said that if the existing border was being questioned, if the idea was to create a Greater Serbia, then we would raise the question of those Croatian people living outside the Republic of Croatia. This is a principled attitude. There has been no mistake about this.

Ladies and gentlemen, representatives of Croatian areas in Bosnia-Hercegovina were coming to see me in great numbers, representing those areas, asking me why we were we waiting when Serbia, through its party, was already removing all areas, all Serbian areas, from the authority of the republican government in Bosnia-Hercegovina. They asked if they could work for annexation to Croatia.

I told them what I've just said, that they shouldn't do it, that we support the integrity of Bosnia-Hercegovina, but that if this integrity is called into question we will not turn a deaf ear to the part of the Croatian people who have been exposed for decades to harassment, and denationalization and increasingly open weakening of their ethnic position.

I can tell you—I don't know, I didn't have the time to go through yesterday's and today's newspapers—but I can tell you that I received the official representative of the main Muslim organization, the Party of Democratic Action, who told me about Izetbegovic's message that he had refused to sign the prepared, so- called historic agreement between Serbia and the Muslims. This opens up another new era in trying to find a solution to this latent and overt crisis.

Our attitude to Kosovo Albanians was principled and consistent. We have been giving them democratic support. At the same time, we faced the fact that Croatian people were being killed for the past year and that conflict worsened daily, while absolute peace reigned in Kosovo. Consequently, we could not promote any kind of movement there, because even Kosovo policy is implemented according to some sort of instructions within the framework of the general concept of preserving Yugoslavia, despite the fact that among one part, or the majority of the Kosovo people [words indistinct].

We oriented our Croatian policy to the policy of the Croatian people. I do not think we have made any mistakes. They say we lost our allies. On the contrary, we gained allies where we could, and where we couldn't...[changes thought] even the allies we had and have now behave according to their particular interests,

which is normal for both big and small nations. For example, even the representatives of Kosovo, who have now been removed, on many occasions voted against us in the SFRY Presidency.

We sent Mr. Seks to the Constitutional Court so the decisions on the unconstitutionality of the dissolution of the Kosovo and Vojvodina assemblies and on the unconstitutionality of the current Kosovo and Vojvodina representatives in the Yugoslav Presidency could be finally implemented. However, this decision cannot be implemented, even now when we have our representative Seks, because the Slovene representatives are not attending the Constitutional Court. You can draw your own conclusions about everyone else's conduct, so it should not be said that our Croatian policy is blind to reality and that we are leaning on what one cannot lean on.

There is another controversial issue that is being raised here: Why are we keeping our representatives in the federal bodies? We have already decided to withdraw our delegation from the Federal Chamber of the Federal Assembly. Hence, the delegation is not there anymore. I stress with satisfaction that these representatives, who were elected during the old regime and were mostly members of the then League of Communists, agreed, I believe unanimously, to be withdrawn. We have no representatives in the Federal Chamber.

The question is raised of our delegation in the republics, I mean, in the chamber of republics and provinces. We have reached an agreement with Slovenia, Macedonia and Bosnia-Hercegovina that these republican delegations will remain in the chamber during the transitional period, until the final solution is found, so that this instrument of the Federal Assembly can function to implement the decision on disassociation. You can see that all these delegations in the chamber of republics and provinces were elected in free elections, and express the current state of affairs in the republics. This was agreed by republics, I mean among us, the Slovenes and the other two republics.

The last remaining issue is the issue of the federal government. Judging by policies conducted by the president of the federal government and other government members, especially the secretary for foreign affairs, the demands heard daily for the withdrawal of all representatives are justified. The president of the federal government, the secretary for foreign affairs, Markovic and Loncar, accepted the concept of the draft resolution of the crisis on the basis of the confederal concept of an alliance of sovereign states. But, judging by what Loncar said at the Berlin conference and in talks with an EC delegation, they interpret the draft in a way that is unacceptable to Croatia. Should we recall them as early as today? We have been thinking about this for a long time. I spoke about this with them and other representatives, Finance Minister Zekan and Bozo Marendic. Some expressed a readiness to follow our policy. If I say [words indistinct] the other question is raised. As long as Yugoslavia exists as an international factor, as long as the problem of dissociation exists, and dissociation means settling accounts...[changes thought] what we shall take out of the community as our debt and what is our share of the federal property, whether it is in our interest to do it or not.

Therefore, some sort of a federal government must exist during this transition period. Therefore, our decision, I believe, in this respect should also depend on the (?complex) situation, on the development of events during this transition period.

We must also draw our attention to the fact that the members of the federal government, Mr. Markovic and the other ministers, members of the council, are not officially Croatian representatives there. Although these ambassadors, ministers and, generally, all these international mediators, tell us: You have your own representatives in the federal government, they have the most important posts. I said to them: Yes, but they are not representatives of democratic Croatia and they do not represent Croatia, although they present themselves as such. So, one should have this in mind as well.

A question was recently asked why we demanded at all that our representative, Mr. Mesic, be elected and why we are still keeping him there. The reply is again: Simply because, until we achieve full sovereignty and independence, for as long as this process of dissociation lasts, our representative in the federal presidency, and especially as the president, can use his influence to help avoid an all-out war, so we can achieve sovereignty and independence by avoiding the bloodshed and the worst consequences. Because, despite everything, the Yugoslav Army is not united [word indistinct] and therefore it is not all the same whether the presidency, which is formally and constitutionally the supreme command of the Yugoslav Army, can or cannot adopt such a constitutional act on extraordinary measures and the authorities of the Yugoslav Army, whether we can influence the further resolution of the Yugoslav crisis in general, or whether we should isolate ourselves from both resolving the Yugoslav crisis and the international community.

The European Community and the United States persist in this; They tell us: We know what the relations are, we know that Mr. Mesic is helpless there, in such an arrangement. In the same way, neither can the others just adopt any decisions they want, because he is there. Therefore, I think that it is in our interest to take into consideration [words indistinct] and it is one of the conditions to offer us help in resolving [word indistinct] therefore, this is why we are not withdrawing Mr. Mesic from the federal Presidency, although there were suggestions by some of these groups to immediately withdraw him. [passage omitted]

Speaking about peace forces, it goes without saying, I think it is clear that these peace forces cannot come to Croatia to separate us from the YPA [Yugoslav People's Army] on Croatian soil, or moreover, separate us from

Chetnik gangs and gangs of outlaws. In fact, these peace forces can only come to Croatia for the purpose of control, i.e., to ensure that in Croatia the YPA is not further involved in the war against Croatia, and that more gangs of outlaws from Serbia and Bosnia-Hercegovina are not sent to Croatia. We are aware of all the negative consequences which the involvement of the peace forces could bring about, and this would not be in keeping with Croatian policy. [passage omitted]

Allow me to say a few words on changes in the government [words indistinct] faced with more serious problems of organizing the defense, earlier on we decided to set up a crisis center. I appointed Mr. Manolic as its head. This is not some kind of new government. The crisis center and Manolic, who is also the president of the department for the protection of the constitutional system, have the duty to coordinate existing bodies, i.e. the ministries of national defense and internal affairs [words indistinct] exclusively the problems of the defense, territorial defense, of the Republic of Croatia and the protection of the constitutional system. It is not a separate authority or a separate government, as some are saying. The problem, as we could see in practice, is that there are problems in all countries between defense and interior ministries and their services in peace time. In these war conditions, when the interior ministry was completely in charge of the protection of our constitutional system and territory, and we had to create a National Guard Corps from these ranks, a series of problems arose concerning the organization and [word indistinct] and the organization of defense on the spot. For this reason we appointed Mr. Manolic, as the former premier and also as the most experienced man in this field, to manage this [word indistinct] of our defense efforts, exclusively defense efforts in this crisis.

At the same time, this called for a reshuffle of the government. We went ahead with a more fundamental reshuffle. The government we are proposing to you, the government which I appointed, is a government in keeping with the Constitution, a government of experts and democratic unity. This government—is an HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] government, but which also includes nonparty people. [passage omitted]

The relation between the government and the assembly will clearly depend on the development of events and on when we will be able to implement new elections. It is clear that this relation should continue to develop in the present conditions as well [words indistinct]. There is a lack of understanding concerning the Supreme State Council. According to the Constitution, in Article 100 of our Constitution, the Council for National Defense was included. We simply transferred it when we were adopting [word indistinct] from the old Constitution. Article 106 envisages the Presidency Council and also the decree that the president of the republic can establish other bodies necessary for the successful carrying out the presidential duty. [passage omitted]

Therefore, in this critical situation the time is near when we must reach a solution by containing the war within the present framework or by seeing it spread even further. We think such an organization of [word indistinct] the crisis headquarters and on the other hand, the creation of the government of experts and democratic unity will make more efficient work by the republican administration possible, and consequently by the entire administration. It will speed up the organization of our defense forces and all other potentials, such as the econony. It will be able to mobilize in a more [word indistinct] way all the forces of the Republic of Croatia for the defense of its territorial integrity and the implementation of the legal order.

With such a manifestation of unity of all the parties—even with the fact that one part of the Serbian population in Croatia is ready to cooperate with the Croatian leadership—with such an act we will achieve better organization and mobilization and greater unity of all the Croatian people and all the citizens of Croatia.

In these critical moments, we are forced to fight for life or death, for the defense of the territorial integrity of Croatia, for the defense of the structure and the future of the Republic of Croatia and the Croatian people. Therefore, I believe you will give your vote of confidence to this government.

Tudjman Adviser on Mobilization Issues

LD0108210891 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2000 GMT 1 Aug 91

[Text] [Announcer] According to the signs, partial mobilization has already started at the most critical points of Croatia. Hajnal Mate interviewed Mario Nobilo, foreign political advisor of the Croatian president.

[Begin recording Nobilo, in English, with Hungarian translation superimposed] There is nothing spectacular in this, I mean, we simply want to defend ourselves, therefore we ordered full mobilization in parts of Croatia where the conflict has escalated. For example, in the region of Banija, near Knin, not far from Zagreb and everywhere, we thought it necessary, for the situation became intolerable.

[Mate] And does this mean that the police can use arms anywhere if necessary?

[Nobilo] Yes, certainly, it was necessary to bring in this measure, since today, a whole tank regiment marched in from Serbia and they were about to attack the town of (Zai) on the Danube.

Recently, Serbia armed the terrorists and it really wants to clear the Croatians from areas which it wants to annex to Serbia in the future. For example, at the moment, Zagreb is full of refugees from the Banija region, and bombardments and air attacks are all the more frequent; we cannot idly watch this any more.

[Mate] Does this mean that you abandon the possibility of political solutions?

[Nobilo] No, of course, we would not do that. President Tudjman still does not exclude the possibility of peaceful solutions, however, he is supported in every way in his view that defense has to be organized and concrete steps have to be taken. The greatest problem is, anyway, how to hold back those endeavors for radical solution, which urge war. [end recording]

President Tudjman's Protection Increased

LD0108160391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1543 GMT 1 Aug 91

[Text] Zagreb, 1 Aug (TANJUG)—The honor guard of the Croatian president in front of Banski Dvori in Zagreb, where the office of the republican president is located, has been withdrawn this afternoon. It has been unofficially learned that the reason for the withdrawal is the overall situation. Hence, the guards in red uniforms were replaced by members of the unit for the protection of the president, dressed in camouflage uniforms and black berets.

The president's honor guard was instituted on 25 June, when the republic proclaimed its sovereignty and independence.

Newspaper Views Political Divisions

LD0108115691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1037 GMT 1 Aug 91

[Text] Zagreb, August 1 (TANJUG)—The Zagreb daily VJESNIK today warns about "regional divisions within the Croatian state" which constitute a threat of a "party coup" at today's session of the Croatian parliament.

The paper, published in the capital of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, sees proof of these claims in Slavonija, northeastern Croatia, which is the site of armed clashes between Serbs and the Croatian police and National Guard.

The paper sees examples of "regional divisions within Croatia" in Slavonija in the "imposing of the editor in chief of the Osijek daily GLAS SLAVONIJE".

"Statements by leaders of the Croatian territorial defence in Osijek and Vukovar saying that their units are self-organized formations discredit the institutes of ministries in the Croatian government, and even Premier Josip Manolic", the paper notes.

The paper describes the stands set out by the Croatian parliament vice-president at a recent meeting with the representatives of Slavonija's municipalities as "self-will" and "political volunteerism" since he did not "carry out his task" and was silent on his orientation for "rigid party discipline".

Assembly Discusses Situation of Serbs

LD0108120491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1045 GMT 1 Aug 91

[Dejan Drakulic report]

[Text] Zagreb, Aug 1 (TANJUG)—"Serbs in Croatia, taken collectively, are excluded today from political decision-making on the sovereignty of Croatia, on the system and vehicles of authority," it has been concluded by a Croatian parliamentary commission.

The commission on the protection and equality of nations and nationalities, in its document entitled "fundamentals of the materialization of cultural autonomy, local government and self-government, and proportional participation in authority by the Serbian nationality in Croatia," assesses that such a position of Serbs in Croatia results from the established legal order in the republic and from the solutions according to which "Serbs have the status of national minority."

This document—which entitles Serbs in Croatia to cultural autonomy, inclusive of the rights to their mother language and (Cyrillic) script, local self-rule in parts of Croatia having majority Serbian population, and a proportional participation of Serbs in the Republic of Croatia's authorities (legislative, executive and judiciary)—has an uncertain fate because it has not been placed on the agenda of today's session of Croatian parliament.

A draft of this document was debated early this week at an inter-party meeting in parliament where 20-odd of the 36 invited parliamentary or non-parliamentary parties were present. Those absent were representatives of the ruling Croatian Democratic Union and of the opposition Serbian Democratic Party.

Ivan Vekic Calls For 'State of War'

LD0108184191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1741 GMT 1 Aug 91

[Text] Zagreb, 1 Aug (TANJUG)—The new Croatian Internal Affairs Minister, Ivan Vekic, informed the Assembly this evening that considerable forces and combat equipment have been sent to Osijek.

Vekic gave a roundup of events and the situation in Erdut and Dalj. The minister called on the Assembly to proclaim a state of war under which all authority would be assumed by the president of the republic, and he said that he has sent an appeal to all refugees from the endangered regions to join the forces of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. At the same time he called for the urgent adoption of special provisions of the law according to which everyone apart from members of the national guard should immediately return their arms and ammunition, under threat of sanctions.

As his first step as new minister, according to Vekic himself, the Ministry of Internal Affairs has issued

special instructions on proceedings against all members of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and national guard corps who refuse to execute their tasks and to hand over weapons [as heard].

Roundup on Escalating Military Conflict

LD0108194391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1845 GMT 1 Aug 91

[Text] Osijek, August 1 (TANJUG)—Clashes in the vicinity of the Croatian city of Osijek between armed formations of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia and members of the Serbian nationality escalated early this morning and are still underway, the latest reports by TANJUG correspondents indicate.

Reports from this part of Slavonija, a region which is part of Croatia, describe fierce fighting in the villages of Dalj, Aljmas and Erdut, with mixed Croatian-Serbian populations.

The reports mention large numbers of casualties.

The provincial hospital of Novi Sad, capital of Vojvodina Province which is part of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia and which borders with Croatia, admitted 15 people from the villages of Dalj and Aljmas by 7 p.m. today. They were all wounded in the fighting.

Regular Yugoslav army units, as announced, are trying to secure a ceasefire.

The number of refugees from the crisis region is rising by the minute, with the escalation of the fighting.

According to the figures of the Osijek Red Cross organization, nine buses arrived here this afternoon, bringing refugees from villages with predominantly Croatian populations. It is estimated that about 600 refugees, including about a hundred children, have sought refuge in Osijek.

Meanwhile, armored Yugoslav army units this morning entered the city of Hrvatska Kostajnica, which is on the border with the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Hrvatska Kostajnica, which is in the Croatian region of Banija, was a site of fierce fighting until yesterday as well. Croatian guard and police units yesterday withdrew from this city. TANJUG reporters say that the city is deserted, with no electricity or water.

Along with reports about increasingly frequent conflicts in the crisis spots of Croatia, it was reported today that Knin, the center of the so-called Serbian autonomous region of Krajina, would open talks with Croatian republican representatives about the exchange of prisoners.

A representative of the Knin authorities today said that the negotiations would take place in the border parts of this region with a predominantly Serb population. Krajina proclaimed independence from the Republic of Croatia but the Croatian authorities do not recognize the decision.

There are 70 members of the Croatian republican police in the Knin jail, it was said.

Interior Minister Proclaims Mobilization

LD0108182591 Hamburg DPA in German 1757 GMT 1 Aug 91

[Text] Zagreb (DPA)—Croatian Interior Minister Ivan Vekic this evening proclaimed the general mobilization of the population. He called on "all those who are capable to report to the reserve immediately for the defense of the sovereignty of Croatia," according to a statement by the minister read out on Croatian television. All young men fit for service should report "to the nearest police station." They can obviously also serve as reservists with the paramilitary national guard.

The interior minister also ordered that, effective immediately, private cars can be confiscated for defense purposes. This confiscation is unlimited, he said. Vekic also urged the "proclamation of a state of war" by the Croatian parliament. With this all powers would go to the president of the republic, Franjo Tudjman. Parliament would be largely excluded.

Zagreb Radio Reports Mobilization Order

LD0108184391 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 1 Aug 91

[Text] Croatian Internal Affairs Minister Ivan Vekic has appealed to the citizens of Croatia in these words:

In the areas of Croatia in the grip of war, to protect their bare existence, faced with invasion by Chetnik and other terrorist groups who are being given support in arms by the Yugoslav People's Army, most of the Croatian population have fled as refugees.

To achieve the most effective possible defense of the sovereignty of the Republic of Croatia, democracy, and the homes of the refugees, the minister of internal affairs of the Republic of Croatia calls on all citizens capable of giving armed resistance (?and) refugees from the areas in the grip of war to immediately register with the reserve forces of the Croatian Interior Ministry. Volunteers can immediately contact their nearest police stations, from which points their inclusion in the republic's defense forces will be organized. Their contribution to the defense of their homeland's sovereignty will be valuable.

Minister Vekic has also issued the following order: In the crisis areas of Croatia which are in the grip of war operations, members of the Ministry of Internal Affairs will, if the need arises, appropriate all means of transportation which are the property of citizens, work organizations or other legal subjects, with the exception of ambulances and fire brigade vehicles, as well as vehicles

used for supplies. According to item one of this order, the use of means of transportation will be in effect until the realistic need for such use no longer exists. Once the need no longer exists, the means of transportation will be returned to their owners. In case they disappear, are destroyed or damaged, the owners will be eligible for appropriate compensation. This order comes into effect immediately.

Novi Sad Army Unit Disarms Chetnik Group

LD0108114991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1033 GMT 1 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, August 1 (TANJUG)—The command of the Novi Sad corps of the Yugoslav People's Army today announced that one of its units disarmed a group of 18 men, members of the so-called Chetnik Sajkas detachment, yesterday afternoon.

The statement said that the Army did not use its arms since the group did not resist the disarming. They mainly had trophy arms and camping equipment.

The statement notes that all members of the "detachment" are from the province of Vojvodina and that their presence on the Tisa River, near the village of Zabalj, was disturbing the citizens.

The Novi Sad command corps statement said that all other information about the incident, even some set out by certain deputies in the Serbian parliament, were not true.

Three Guards Dead, 20 Wounded in Clash

LD0108124191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1145 GMT 1 Aug 91

[Text] Osijek, 1 Aug (TANJUG)—Three dead and 20 wounded members of the Croatian National Guard Corps were transferred to Osijek hospital this morning.

According to doctors, the guardsmen were transferred from the Nemetin-Dalj region. Nine guardsmen were wounded by infantry weapons, and 11 were wounded when a truck overturned. Their injuries are serious. Two guardsmen are in critical condition. The identity of the dead guardsmen will be revealed after an autopsy.

TANJUG did not manage to get in touch with responsible officials of the National Guard Corps and learn where the clashes took place and with whom guardsmen exchanged fire. It has been unofficially learned that the clashes took place near Aljmas.

Armed Clashed in Dalj, Near Osijek Reported

LD0108125591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1142 GMT 1 Aug 91

[Text] Osijek, August 1 (TANJUG)—One "terrorist" was killed in last night's clash between a Croatian police patrol and armed civilians in Dalj, a village in Slavonija, Osijek police announced today.

A little later, the waterworks in Dalj was shelled from the nearby farm Lovac.

Mortar fire was opened on the village of Martinovci at 0530 a.m. from the direction of Bjelo Brdo.

The Osijek Yugoslav People's Army (YPA) garrison said that the attack on the police station in Dalj was carried out by armed civilians from Borovo Selo and Dalj.

A YPA unit, which is securing the Bogojevo Bridge, was sent to the scene of the clash in Dalj and Martinovci.

The Osijek Garrison says that the fighting has stopped, that it is peaceful for the time being and that the wounded are receiving medical attention.

There are no reports about casualties.

Osijek Mayor Accuses Army of Total War

LD0108133591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1306 GMT 1 Aug 91

[Text] Osijek, 1 Aug (TANJUG)—In connection with the escalation of clashes in Dalj, Erdut, and Aljmas, Osijek Mayor Dr. Zlatko Karamaric said "that this is a total war by the Yugoslav People's Army against Croatia."

Kramaric said that he had unsuccessfuly tried to "establish contact with Mr. Kadijevic" to warn him "that he will bear the historic responsibility for everything going on in eastern Croatia."

In his statement for Radio Osijek the mayor also said he is trying to get in touch with "Mr. Ante Markovic" to "warn him how far his playing with fire has got." Kramaric asked the citizens of Osijek to keep their cool and be ready to go into shelters when an alarm sounds because "there is the possibility of an attack on the town itself."

Casualties Reported From Clashes in Sibenik

LD0108141491 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 1 Aug 91

[Text] Seven injured and one dead member of the Croatian Armed Forces were brought to Sibenik hospital today. They are casualties from clashes that took place throughout Sibenik municipality. A priest wounded in recent clashes near the village of Lisane has died in Split hospital. This was announced at a regular news conference in Sibenik attended by representatives of Sibenik hospital and a National Guard Spokesman. It was also stated that military helicopters are seen flying over some of the villages in the Skradin area with increasing frequency. Accomodations at holiday resorts are being used to house refugees from the villages in the Sibenik hinterland who are seeking shelter from frequent bombardment and threats by Chetnik terrorists.

BORBA: 'Majority' of 40 Dalj Policemen Killed

AU0208094791 Paris AFP in English 0929 GMT 2 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 2 (AFP)—Most of the 40-strong Croatian police force in the Slavonian village of Dalj have been killed in clashes with Serbian fighters, the BORBA newspaper reported here Friday.

The Belgrade daily, without giving exact figures, said that that the "majority" of the police officers were killed Thursday.

BORBA also reported that six Serbians "defenders" were killed in the village, which is near Borovo Selo, 120 kilometres (75 miles) west of Belgrade in Croatian territory.

Serbian radio in Novi Sad said late Thursday that seven Serbs had died in fighting in Dalj.

Intense Fighting Reported Around Osijek

AU0108201691 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1700 GMT 1 Aug 91

[Excerpts] From press agency and Croatian Television reports, it is becoming evident that the situation the Osijek area is worse today, as the Serbs, helped by the Army, are using all means at their disposal in their attempts to alienate a part of Croatia. Just before the newscast we received a report by Joze Balent from Osijek:

[Balent] Slavonia is on fire. During these crucial times for this province the fighting is in full swing. These are no longer fights, this is war. The Serbian terrorists—in some places with the help of the Army—today attacked several villages: Sarvas, Aljmas, Dalj, and Erdut. Osijek is surrounded by the tank units, the first armored division has arrived from Vojvodina as reinforcement, and it is uncertain what will happen during the night.

We visited Mr. Kramaric, mayor of Osijek commune, who issued an appeal to the residents of Osijek and its surroundings at 1300 [1100 GMT] to remain calm but nevertheless prepare for the worst. The situation is really grave and we expect unpleasant surprises during the night. Here I refer to the threat presented by the Osijek barracks, because all tanks situated on the outskirts of Osijek are ready, and their barrels are pointing at the town.

As I have already mentioned, the refugees from the villages of Sarvas, Aljmas, Dalj and Erdut are gathering here. There is still no exact number on the refugees that have arrived, but I estimate that there are more than 2,000. People are crying, they are on the streets, they have left behind their cattle and everything they had.

With the help of the colleagues from Osijek Television we visited the Osijek Medical Center where we obtained the latest information on dead and wounded in the battles around Dalj and Erdut and in Aljmas and Sarvas. [passage omitted]

Nine members of the Croatian forces wounded in the clashes, four in critical condition, were brought in via the Dalj—the Erdut river route, this is Drava—Danube route. It is still not clear where the shooting in which three persons were killed—two guardsmen and one policeman—took place.

We tried to reach Aljmas, but were prevented by the defenders of Aljmas —these, of course, are not the defenders but the Army—who opened fire. I will report on all further developments in the subsequent newscasts at 2200 and on the evening program.

Army, Police Differ on Dalj Events

LD0108120791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1059 GMT 1 Aug 91

[Text] Osijek, 1 Aug (TANJUG)—There are contradictory reports from Dalj which this morning became the scene of the latest clashes in Eastern Slavonia. All telephone lines between Dalj and Osijek have been cut off. The Osijek garrison command, however, claims the clashes in Dalj have stopped.

This morning armed civilians attacked the police station in Dalj. The army was invited to intervene. The police authorities in Osijek claims that once it arrived in Dalj, the army sided with the outlaws and called on the members of the Internal Affairs Ministry [MUP] stationed in the surrounded police station to surrender.

According to the Osijek MUP, when the latter refused to surrender the army threatened to open fire, which it proceeded to do shortly after. On that occasion a woman and two children—relatives of the MUP members—were hurt in an apartment above the police station. The Osijek police authorities say all links with the police station are cut off and they do not know what is going on there.

The Osijek garrison command claims the army has carried out its task, has separated the warring sides, and has gone into the Dalj police station. It is also claimed that there is peace in Dalj at the moment. The Osijek army sources note that the Dalj region is within the control of the Novi Sad garrison and that they therefore can say nothing about possible casualties.

According to Radio Osijek, two MUP members were injured in the clashes in Dalj this morning before the army arrived. Two more injured people were taken this morning from Erdut to the village of Nemetin. Osijek Radio links this to the fact that on its way to Dalj the army passed through Erdut. Croatian television reported shortly after 1200 that the population of Erdut had fled to the nearby village of Aljmas and that the "Chetniks" from Bijelo Brdo are approaching Aljmas.

Army Statement on Armed Clashes in Villages

LD0108194791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1831 GMT 1 Aug 91

[Text] Novi Sad, August 1 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav People's Army stated on Thursday that it 'has taken through fighting' the village of Dalj and a part of the village of Bijelo Brdo in Slavonia, the northeastern region of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia.

A statement issued by the Novi Sad Corps of the Yugoslav People's Army said the Army units had to do so after Croatian Police and National Guardsmen 'deployed in front of Dalj and Bijelo Brdo treacherously opened fire at them from all available weapons.'

'The Army responded adequately,' added the statement.

It went on to say that 'sporadic fire continues' and that 'there are no wounded, injured or killed among the Army members.'

The statement said that the Army units set out from the 'broader area of Bogojevo' in Vojvodina, a province within the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia, to separate members of the Croatian armed formations and residents defending Dalj and another village in the area, Aljmas.

The two villages have a mixed population of Serbs and Croats.

Fierce armed clashes in the villages broke out about 7 hours local time (5 gmt) today, the Army statement specified.

The units headed for the area to prevent further bloodshed, 'in view of the heavy fighting and estimates about a high number of casualties.'

'The Yugoslav People's Army members are making enormous efforts to clear the communications and enable the evacuation of injured and wounded citizens from the endangered area,' concluded the statement.

'Secret Arming' of Derventa Citizens

LD0108180191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1439 GMT 1 Aug 91

[Text] Tuzla, 1 Aug (TANJUG)—The Tuzla corps information service said in a statement today that, according to verified information, the secret arming of Derventa citizens in line with party affiliation is underway. The organizers of the secret arming are activists of the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ], the Party for Democratic Action (stranka demokratske akcije - sda) and the Serbian Democratic Party (srpska demotratske stranks - sd). The arms are coming from Germany.

It has also learned that the HDZ Derventa committee has instructed reservists to steal weapons, ammunition and military equipment from military depots while they are on military exercises.

A special unit of the [Croatian] Ministry for Internal Affairs has infiltrated the town of Derventa. Their task is to start operations against the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] at a pre- determined signal, and citizens of this municipality should be drawn into the conflict. The infiltrated group is directly under control of the HDZ central office in Zagreb. Only a small number of the leading HDZ members in Derventa know about the existance of this group.

Militant circles in border areas between Croatia and Bosnia- Hercegovina want to draw municipalities in Bosnia-Hercegovina into conflicts against the YPA, the statement of the Tuzla corps concludes.

Magyars, Croats Flee Chetnik Attack

LD0108182291 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1800 GMT 1 Aug 91

[Text] Magyars and Croats are fleeing for their lives from the village of Aljmas, 10 km from Osijek, since the Serb Chetniks launched a general attack against the small Croatian settlement. A short while ago, Hungarian Television reported that Aljmas has virtually fallen. The armed men started shooting at dawn. The inhabitants of the settlement, which is only about 40 km from the Hungarian-Yugoslav border, grabbed a few personal belongings and tried to flee on a barge. However, many of the old and sick of Aljmas could not get into the boat. One weeping woman told in dispair of how the Serbian gunmen even shot at the barge.

The people of Aljmas sought refuge in Osijek. The people wounded in the firing are being cared for in the local hospital. The mayor of Osijek has appealed to the inhabitants of the town to stay indoors and only leave the houses in case of real necessity.

Serbs, Muslim Named to Republic Government

LD0108102291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0917 GMT 1 Aug 91

[Text] Zagreb, 1 Aug (TANJUG)—Representatives of Serbs and Muslims are in the new Croatian government, Croatian President Franjo Tudjman has said.

At an emergency session of the Croatian Assembly, at which Prime Minister-designate Franjo Greguric and his government will receive a vote of confidence, Tudjman said that Zivko Juzbasic, minister without portfolio, and a deputy health minister "are representatives of the Serbs in Croatia." The Croatian president said that Muhammad Zulic, minister without portfolio, is a representative of the Muslims." Tudjman failed to explain how the Serbs and Muslims elected their representatives in the government.

Serbia

'Chetnik' Leader Warns Against Interference

AU0108194691 Vienna Oesterreich Eins Radio Network in German 1620 GMT 1 Aug 91

[Report on "exclusive" interview with "Chetnik" leader Vojislav Seselj by Agathe Zuppan in Belgrade; date not given; Seselj statements in Serbo-Croatian with superimposed German translation]

[Excerpts] Belgrade, a road in the center of the city, an apartment on the first floor—the office of the Serbian Radical Party. The leader is present—Vojislav Seselj, who is nearly two meters tall, has a crew cut, and is very muscular. I do not need any bodyguards, he said, smiling. Seselj was talking on the telephone. Numerous young men who want to join the Chetniks and fight for the Serbian cause telephone constantly. He is the idol of many young people in the party, one of men at the office stated. We asked whether we could talk with him. That is impossible, we were told. Everything that concerns the Chetniks is subject to the utmost military secrecy. The structures are similar to those of the IRA. The fighters only appear silent in public, if at all. The political wing does the talking.

[Begin Seselj recording] Hungary is free. The Soviets have left the country. It is independent now. We will amputate Croatia. What belonged together in the past—Austria, Istria, and towns like Zagreb—will again belong together. The Austrians are Catholic, just like the Slovenes and Croats. They share the same history and culture. In addition, Austria needs access to the sea. What belongs to Italy now used to belong to Austria, for example. We are in favor of restoring the old map in Europe. [end recording]

This was an introduction to international law by the law professor Seselj. The old map also hangs on the wall of the office. It shows Europe after World War I, with a great Serbia. The map is old and seems outdated. However, Seselj rejected that as well as our objection that his political ideas seem outdated. Serbia's borders of 1915 are the only ones that have ever been recognized under international law, he stressed. Thus, they must be restored. Serbian territories are now in a hostile country, in Croatia.

[Begin Seselj recording] Serbs and Croats are living in places like Vinkovci or Glina. In numerous small villages in Slavonia, the front runs along the middle of a road. Who decides what is Serbian and what is Croat territory? We do. We do not want the whole of Slovenia or Croatia, as was the case after World War I in the Kingdom of Serbia, Slovenia, and Croatia. We only want to control all Serbian territories. They must belong to Serbia. After World War I, we were much too greedy. Finally we nearly choked on this chunk. Our advice for Austria is: Do not to take too much of Yugoslavia. Just take a small piece, maybe the part that grants you access to the Adriatic Sea. Too great a territorial claim would mean too many Slavs in your country. Your state would not survive that. It would burst once more, just like after World War I.

Look, we and Austria share the same interests. We want a Slovenia that is not too strong and an amputated and smaller Croatia. However, do not challenge our defiance and our pride. This might considerably hurt our interests and our relations. [end recording]

Austria and the Serbs—a difficult relationship in the past, which, however, has developed into a good one in the past decades. Now things have become difficult again. The Serbian government in Belgrade has accused Austria of being too friendly with Slovenia and Croatia. Does the chairman of the Radical Party see this in the same way?

No, Seselj stressed. We want a partnership with Austria. We only reject unjustified criticism. What happens in Kosovo is a matter that concerns only us Serbs. The fight against the Croats is also a Serbian matter, and we will not tolerate any interference, he pointed out. [passage omitted]

Seselj stated that the Serbs had to endure a great deal in Croatia in the past. Now the Serbs are striking back. He seems have written off the former enemy Slovenia.

[Begin Seselj recording] We are in favor of the Army withdrawing completely and permanently from Slovenia. We have always advocated this standpoint. There was agreement on this even before the withdrawal started. We are no longer interested in Slovenia's internal affairs. The Slovenes want to join Austria anyway. The Austrians are making a mistake if they attack us constantly. We are their friends. Just like them, we are against this Yugoslavia. The Belgrade government will only exist as long as Yugoslavia exists. If the state collapses, the government will have to disappear from the political scene. The Ustasha government in Croatia will kill a man like Ante Markovic anyway. As a communist, he is completely unacceptable.

You see, Serbia and Austria have similar interests. Do you want access to the Adriatic Sea? That is no problem. However, do not interfere in inner-Serbian affairs. That will make us angry. Do not claim the smallest piece of Serbian territory. We will shift our borders to the west, to the Serbian territories in Croatia. There is no doubt about that. [end recording]

Confronted with the statement that it is clear that Austria does not expect to get access to the Adriatic Sea, Seselj stated: This does not matter. It was only an offer for a political alliance. Seselj ignored the remark that nobody in Austria is really interested in such an alliance. [passage omitted]

POLITIKA: Serbia Needs Peace, Unity

LD0108214891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1139 GMT 1 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, August 1 (TANJUG)—The opposition parties in Serbia should give more consideration to peace and unity instead of criticizing the authorities and revealing their lust for power, the Belgrade daily POLITIKA says today.

"Some Serbian opposition circles are accusing the government and President Slobodan Milosevic of provoking a war psychosis," POLITIKA editor-in-chief Aleksandar Prlja says in a commentary, pointing to the statements by Vuk Draskovic, the leader of the strongest opposition Serbian Renewal Movement.

Opposition leaders are the ones who, until recently, urged the expulsion of ethnic Albanians from the Yugoslav autonomous province of Kosovo to Albania, but now they want "dialogue with them," as Prlja sets out. Opposition leaders have forgotten that it was them who, until recently, "drew maps of Greater Serbia" which included Serb-populated territories of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, as Prlja says.

Until recently, opposition leaders "attacked Milosevic and the Serbian government for putting too much confidence in the Yugoslav People's Army (YPA), describing it as mere Titoist legacy," Prlja says. The opposition now claims that this "threat against the interests of the Serbian people" is the "Serbian army", rightfully seen by some as an occupation army, Prlja sets out.

The opposition is "also making insulting, senseless and frivolous parallels between the situation in Serbia and that in Croatia at a time when the whole of Europe is talking about the emergence of fascistoid nuclei in Croatia," as Prlja says.

Prlja sees the existence of democracy in Serbia, which is denied by the opposition, in frequent street demonstrations against authorities which "are not happening in other parts of Yugoslavia," in "live television coverage of Serbian parliament sessions and the freedom of the press to write about the sessions" and in the fact that "there are no longer party organizations in enterprises."

Krajina Acts on 'Immediate War Threat'

LD0108153191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1450 GMT 1 Aug 91

[Text] Knin, 1 Aug (TANJUG)—At today's session, "the government of the Serbian Autonomous Region [SAR] of Krajina" made a decision which regulates the work of social bodies and enterprises in the emergency situation. The decision is justified by the immediate war threat. The Krajina government also assessed that "the Republic of Croatia, through its armed formations, is waging aggression and carrying out war operations on the wider area of the SAR of Krajina."

Apart from this, the Krajina government adopted several decisions in the defense and internal affairs fields. Under these decisions, relevant laws of the Republic of Serbia are being applied on Krajina territory. According to the defense law, the territorial defense becomes the Krajina armed forces, and their commander is the government president. By a special decision, the state security service has been abolished. Its tasks will be taken over by "a government agency for national security." Explaining this decision to journalists, Milan Babic said that with the abolition of the state security service, "the last and the strongest bastion of Bolshevism is being abolished too." Other decisions, as he stressed, are part of our preparation for any eventuality and our response to possible decisions of the Croatian Assembly.

Territorial Defense Denies Forming Armed Units

LD0108145491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1323 GMT 1 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, August 1 (TANJUG)—The Territoral Defence Staff of the Republic of Serbia today said it had not been informed about the setting up of a training camp for Serbian volunteers in Vojvodina, a province in northern parts of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia.

Milan Paroski, a deputy of the opposition National Party in the Serbian Assembly, told a news conference yesterday that the setting up of a volunteer camp on the Tisa River had been reported to the Serbian Territorial Defence.

Paroski also said 250-450 people, mainly refugees from Glina and Kninska Krajina (regions in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia inhabited mainly by Serbs) had been in the camp. A unit of the Novi Sad Garrison of the Yugoslav People's Army disarmed them and took their arms yesterday morning.

Paroski also said that the volunteers did not resist the disarming, that the camp was working legally and that it was financed from contributions by members of the National Party.

He also pointed out that some weapons had come from Admiral Miodrag Jokic, who was Serbian defence minister until yesterday. Paroski added that he had asked to be received by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic concering the matter.

The Vojvodina Territorial Defence staff issued a statement today saying it had not taken part in the forming and training of any paramilitary formations in the province.

Military Movements Observed in Kosovo

AU0108185291 Skopje FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT in Albanian 28 Jul 91 p 4

[Emin Azemi and Blerim Reka report: "Another JEDINSTVO Lie Exploded"]

[Text] Pristina, 27 Jul—A new form of Serbian state violence has been evident in recent days in Kosovo. The ever-increasing presence of military units is creating an atmosphere of insecurity. Regular and reservist military formations are parading through Albanian-inhabited settlements with armored vehicles of all kinds, accompanied by low-flying aircraft. Even the villages of Velika Slatina and Mala Slatina in the commune of Kosovo Polje were deluged by large numbers of soldiers and reservists yesterday between 0730 and 1330. They came from three directions, from Pristina, Vrela, and Pec. Close observers noticed that these military formations were equipped not only with infantry weapons but also artillery. Militiamen and armed civilians were also prominent in the parade of these units.

A similar provocation also took place in Pristina, when two armored vehicles of the Serbian militia paraded through the main streets. The provocation culminated in the militiamen aiming the barrels of their automatic rifles at citizens.

What Will Kosovo Do Without Militia and Violence?

Expressing his satisfaction that the prediction of JEDINSTVO has not come true in Kosovo, Dr. Fehmi Agani, deputy chairman of the Kosovo Democratic Alliance, concentrated at a news conference on describing the new situation in Kosovo. After supporting the contacts between Ilijaz Ramajli, the delegate Skender Skenderi, and Stipe Mesic, Professor Agani repeated the demand that Albanian recruits should perform their military service in Kosovo and Macedonia.

He also said that we support the demand for the Albanians' equal participation in talks on the future of Yugoslavia, as well as the arrival of EEC commissions and observers in Kosovo. The fulfillment of these demands and the opportunity to hold free elections in Kosovo, he said, will be important steps toward solving the Kosovo crisis.

As for the recent disinformation alleging that the Albanians are preparing an uprising, Professor Agani said that he could not ignore its undertone, because, he said, this campaign is neither naive nor without definite intentions. On the contrary, according to Agani, it is highly provocative and has the purpose of justifying the Serbian terror.

At this news conference, journalists were also told about the "balance sheet" of state violence against the University of Kosovo. In the last two weeks, more that 100 Albanian teachers have been dismissed from the university, and it seems that Serbian chauvinist circles are achieving their aim of halting Albanian-language teaching at the university. However, the Albanians will never accept this, Professor Agani emphasized.

This meeting with journalists was also interesting regarding certain matters concerning internal relations within the Kosovo Alternative. According to Agani, the Kosovo Alternative is united over the essential problems of Kosovo. He denied the lies of the Pristina paper JEDINSTVO, which had burst upon its own befuddled readership the news that Ibrahim Rugova had opposed the most recent demands of the delegation of Kosovo.

The Albanians Must Organize Their Self-Defense

At a time when Chetnik hordes are wandering among Albanian settlements and there is the danger of random attacks from them at any moment, the Albanians' political activity should shift from issuing declarations to tangible preparations for a strategy of self-defense. All Albanian associations and groups have in recent days been discussing the need to create such a strategy. For instance, the Pristina branch of the Forum of Albanian Intellectuals has called on all the political parties and other social institutions to commit themselves to creating a joint mechanism and strategy for national self-defense. On the other hand, all the Albanian political parties call on the people to steer clear of provocations, because inciting conflicts with the aim of causing bloodshed is part of the scenario of the Chetnik staffs. We have never forced war on anybody, members of the Presidium of the LDK's Decani branch said, but nor has it ever been our custom to retreat.

The savage campaign against the university is slowly reaching the point of supplying a pretext for the abolition of Albanian-language teaching at the University of Kosovo. In the last two days, the imposed authorities have dismissed nine staff members from the Physical Education Faculty, including its dean, Dr. Mustafe Aiiu, its secretary, Shefqet Maloku, etc. Meanwhile, after the dismissal of Albanian teaching staff from the Agricultural Faculty, the imposed authorities have begun to remove Albanian administrative staff, including Isa Berisha, Mihrie Govori, Skender Obriu, Qazim Ymeri, and Ismet Ajvazi. According to the most recent information from this faculty, 35 teachers and other staff have been dismissed. Thus, a question mark now hangs over the start of the academic year in this and other faculties.

Ethnic Albanian Leaders 'Increasingly Quarrel'

LD0108034991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1312 GMT 31 Jul 91

[Djordje Jevtic report]

[Text] Pristina, July 31 (TANJUG)—Leaders of the political groups of ethnic Albanians in the province of Kosovo-Metohija (Yugoslav Republic of Serbia) increasingly quarrel with one another about how to organize and materialize political programmes and national interests.

Encouraged by academician Redzep Chosja, the media too begin to deal with the leaders' feuds—a development until recently unthought-of.

Chosja, in an interview to the Albanian-language literary magazine FJALJA, reproached the ethnic Albanian parties in the province of Kosovo-Metohija and part of the Albanian press for retreating before Serbian policy.

Some Albanian parties, says Chosja, attribute greatest importance to external effects and protocols. They insist that the press should record every word uttered by a party leader, rather than the essence of ethnic Albanians' struggle in Kosovo.

The first party to react publicly to Chosja's criticism was the most influential political party of ethnic Albanians—the Democratic Union of Kosovo (DSK) headed by Ibraghim Rugova.

"Statements and interviews by different individuals—who speak for people and attack the DSK, and who do not accept responsibility either for the fate of people or for the effects of their political speeches—are very detrimental," the DSK Presidency assessed.

The Presidency next said that these phenomena among DSK members were being interpreted "as individuals' stands that oblige no one, and as individuals' calls that should be received with reserve."

As is assessed in Pristina, methodological and conceptual differences exist in the stands taken towards otherwise undisputed political goals.

The differences have come to the fore these days especially concerning the formation of an inter-party body of the ethnic Albanian parties and "the council of national salvation of all Albanians in Yugoslavia." But, within the DSK, a six parties' coordinating body has already been set up to voice Albanians' demands. This is assessed by Chosja as a sort of "sectarianism within the national movement."

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Serbs, Muslims Will Not Fight

AU0108203591 Belgrade RTV Sat TV in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 1 Aug 91

[Statement by Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Democratic Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina, in Sarajevo on 1 August—recorded]

[Text] Of course this agreement [between Serbs and Muslims] includes the Croats and is open to accept Croatian parties and the distinguished individuals of Croatian nationality; and it is understood that Croats are the people with totally equal rights in Bosnia-Hercegovina whether Croatia leaves Yugoslavia or not. Thus, we are against making Croats a national minority if Croatia leaves Yugoslavia. They have created this state, and we, Serbs and Muslims, both recognize that they have completely equal rights.

We can say that there is a significant response to these agreements; the people in the area are experiencing significant relief; one can see people again in common restaurants; moreover, there is an easier and warmer relationship, a relief among the representatives. Certain leaders on both sides are still tense and feel that we do not need agreements; they probably mean to say that we need disagreements; logically, if someone is not in favor of an agreement, he must want disagreements.

However, as noted by Mr. Zulfikarpasic, the interests of Serbs and Muslims never clashed in any area since departure of the Turks in 1878. We did have a confrontation, but it was on behalf of a third party. Even now, statements are made occasionally that Muslims would fight on the Croatian side in the clash between Serbs and Croats. Unfortunately, this is heard not just from aggressive Croatian representatives, but also from some Muslim representatives.

We are convinced that the Muslim people, having become wise through harsh experiences during World War II, which was very hard for both Serbs and Muslims, will not agree to become a weapon in someone else's hands against the Serbs. This agreement is one way to make this matter firm: We and the Muslims are not going to fight, because we have no reason to fight.

Bosnian Croats for 'Sovereign, Indivisible' Bosnia

AU0108192091 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 1 Aug 91

[Text] At its session held in Sarajevo yesterday at which it discussed the current (?stability) and the national political situation, the Presidium of the Croatian Democratic Community of Bosnia-Hercegovina issued a communique in which it states that the Croatian Democratic Community of Bosnia-Hercegovina (?has been in favor) of an independent, sovereign, and indivisible Bosnia- Hercegovina within its present borders and [word indistinct] a confederal Yugoslav community from the very beginning.

(?We are against) all forceful alterations of the borders of Bosnia-Hercegovina or forceful accession of Bosnia-Hercegovina to some incomplete Yugoslav federation. The Croats in Bosnia-Hercegovina (?are ready and able to defend) their territory. [Words indistinct] home of us Croats, too, and nobody will take this home from us against our will.

The negotiations between some (?individuals) about reaching the so-called historic agreement between Serbs and Muslims for us Croats (?means drawing) Bosnia-Hercegovina into large-scale armed clashes. (?A peaceful) Bosnia-Hercegovina can only be (?enjoyed) by all the people together, but this peace can not be accomplished on the basis of an agreement between two nations behind the backs of the third nation, the Croat nation. This, among other things, was stated in a communique.

MBO Justifies Peace Agreement With Serbs

AU0108195091 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 1 Aug 91

[Text] We have decided not to consider either the splitting of the country or the civil war as acceptable options. This is the main reason we initiated the signing of an agreement between the Serbian and Muslim peoples on peace and friendship, because the biggest problem lies in relations between Serbs and Muslims. This was stated at a news conference of the Muslim Bosniak Organization [MBO] today.

The president of the party, Adil Zulfikarpasic, stated that this is not at all a betrayal of Bosnia-Hercegovina or a sellout to Serbia, but an attempt to find a peaceful solution to confrontations. We are reproached, (?Zulfikar Pasic said), with having ignored the Croats in all this. This is not correct, because the Croats, from the historic point of view, have always been the natural allies of Muslims.

Muhamed Filipovic, vice president of the Muslim Bosniak Organizations, briefed journalists [words indistinct] agreement, stressing that the Serbs are primarily asked to fight together with the Muslims for a united and indivisible Bosnia-Hercegovina. The correct solution (?for Bosnia-Hercegovina) would be (?a six-member) federation.

At the news conference it was also said that the initiative for the agreement between Serbs and Muslims is supported by a large number of Muslims.